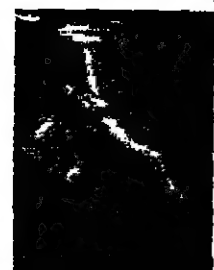


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# THE TIMES

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## Major goes face to face with Tory rebels over Maastricht

By PHILIP WEBSTER  
AND NICHOLAS WOOD

JOHN Major has embarked on a make-or-break attempt to save his leadership by appealing personally to Conservative MPs to support his strategy for ratifying the Maastricht treaty.

With senior Tory MPs openly acknowledging that Mr Major's future depends on the passage of the treaty legislation, the prime minister last night began a series of face-to-face talks with backbenchers to convince them of the economic benefits of Maastricht and to win over potential rebels. He also asked to be given the opportunity of addressing all Tory MPs at a meeting tomorrow night.

He will leave the 1922 committee in no doubt of his determination to see the ratification bill through, and to prevent what yesterday he called the folly of Britain losing its influence in Europe. Michael Heseltine, the president of the board of trade, began seeing the disaffected opponents, and other ministers

After a number of bruising days, the prime minister has decided to confront the doubters in his party individually. He has also asked to address all Tory MPs at a meeting tomorrow night

week's debate has not been ruled out. Although Mr Major would face accusations of an almighty U-turn, it is an outcome that would satisfy most Tory MPs. It would also reassure many on the Labour side, who are worried that if they oppose the government next week they might compromise their pro-Maastricht credentials.

Mr Major's gamble comes in the face of internal party calculations, which suggest that he could be defeated next week. Up to 40 Tory MPs have indicated that they will vote against Mr Major in any overt trial of strength over Maastricht triggered by a substantive motion.

It is a risk that he may have calculated will pay off because of the dilemma facing the right of the party. They see Kenneth Clarke, the ardent pro-European home secretary, as the most likely beneficiary of Mr Major's downfall. One right-wing minister said: "Our aim must be to save the prime minister from the people around him who are out of touch with the party. Ken Clarke cannot lose: either his views prevail, or the prime minister goes."

Mr Major and his colleagues will spend the next two days trying to pick off the rebels before deciding which route to take tomorrow. Mr Major's preference remains to back the principles of Maastricht in an unambiguous attempt to defeat the rebels. But many ministers, some of them close to him, still doubt that he can win back sufficient support.

Mr Major knows that as few as 31 Tory defectors could seal his fate. However, he will be assisted today when the Danish government sets out its plans for reversing its voters' rejection of the Maastricht treaty. The government proposes a series of protocols enabling Denmark to opt out of the single currency, defence and citizenship aspects of the treaty. The disclosure of the plan will help counter the argument of Labour and the Euro-sceptics that British ratification should not proceed until the Danish position is known.

The prime minister began his crusade to woo the party rebels after Commons question time yesterday. He called about ten MPs, some waverers

and some supporters, to his room at the Commons for the first of what will become regular consultations over the months ahead.

The first batch included Angela Browning, John Greenway, David Evans, Graham Riddick, Nigel Evans, Keith Mans, and Eric Pickles. The group, which included several members who joined Parliament for the first time in April, represented a spectrum of views about Europe. Mr Major was reported afterwards to have emphasised the economic case for Maastricht.

The threatened civil war in the Conservative party came closer yesterday as the rival groups attacked each other in public. In early morning broadcasts Sir George Galloway, chairman of the right-wing 92 Group, urged the prime minister to back off and stop "bullying the party with these rather stupid and meaningless threats of a general election".

Angry pro-Europeans, some of whom were members of the same group, retaliated. One fellow member of the group accused Sir George of setting himself up as a power-broker to determine government policy.

From the left Hugh Dykes, MP for Harrow East, said the vast majority of backbenchers were "sick and tired of a vociferous minority of

Danish compromise, page 2  
Sir George Galloway, page 2  
Matthew Parris and Peter Riddell, page 2  
Leading article, page 17



To fight or not to fight: a smiling John Major shows no sign of strain in Downing Street yesterday

## DTI civil servants shifted after coal debacle

By PETER RIDDLELL  
POLITICAL EDITOR

SENIOR civil servants in the department of trade and industry have, in a virtually unprecedented manner, been held responsible for the government's debacle last week over pit closures, while DTI ministers have stayed in place.

Robert Friddle, the deputy secretary in charge of energy policy including the coal industry, has suddenly been shifted to a new post in the DTI. The official explanation from the department is that, since the government has committed itself to examine the future of the coal industry, it makes sense not to have people at the top who were involved in the development of the previous policy, so that they are not re-examining their own navels.

In addition, a special new review team has been set up to carry out the review of coal policy, separate from the existing division dealing with the industry. So the key officials dealing with the review of coal policy during the next three months will be different from those involved in the discussions leading up to the announcement of the closures two weeks ago, and the subsequent climbdown.

Civil servants are almost never held responsible, or shifted, as a result of a failure of policy. There have, for example, been no changes in the Treasury or the Bank of England following sterling's withdrawal from the exchange rate mechanism on September 16.

The convention has been that ministers are held responsible for policy mistakes, but there have been no moves to shift either Michael Heseltine, president of the board of trade, or Tim Eggar, the energy minister.

Subsidy rejected, page 9

## Resign or muddle through?

PAUL JOHNSON on why John Major should quit now to save his party.

SIMON JENKINS on how the prime minister can muddle through.

Two views of a government in turmoil and where Major should go from here.

Page 16

joined in the operation. Their counter-attack was boosted last night by the pro-European wing of the party's formation of a new group to defend Mr Major.

Mr Major will speak to the committee after tomorrow's cabinet has decided the terms of the motion to be put before the Commons next Wednesday. He spent much of yesterday with his closest advisers, weighing the strength of the threatened result and trying to decide whether to tackle the rebels or to back away from confrontation. The alternatives are a straightforward motion backing the principles of Maastricht or a safer technical motion that would bring most of the rebels into line.

A range of options for each route was considered, and it was learnt last night that the option of calling off next

## Lawyer's granny defends the beach that never was

JUST A LINE FROM BLACKPOOL



FROM TOM WALKER IN LUXEMBOURG

QUESTION: When is a beach not a beach? Answer: When it is at Blackpool and the British government says it is not. Britain is in the Euro-dock to explain why bathers had to brave dog excrement on the shore and raw sewage in the water off a resort made famous in countless postcards like that above.

According to counsel for Whitehall, locked in a row with the European Community over the water standards off the Golden Mile, the beach, before 1987, was not in fact a bathing area.

In reply, a puzzled lawyer for the Commission asked the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg yesterday why his grandmother and millions of others had happily bathed at Blackpool since the turn of the century.

According to John Collins, for the British government,

Britain, before 1987, recognised as bathing beaches under EC law only stretches of water where more than 500 people were in the sea at once or where 1,500 bathers per mile were congregated.

Mr Collins described "accidental surveillance" of supposedly popular British beaches that showed many were being used by fewer than 100 bathers. In his tireless efforts to delineate when a beach is not a beach, he added that Britain also had a "grey area", with between 750 and 1,500 bathers per mile, where local councils and water authorities could decide if they were bathing areas in EC terms.

Through these pre-1987 figures, the government deftly managed to whittle down the number of bathing areas in Britain subject to EC rules on water quality to 27. Hand-

ily, this meant there were no bathing areas at all in Scotland and Northern Ireland. And, since Blackpool was not among the 27, there was nothing wrong at the time with raw sewage being pumped into the sea there.

Xavier Lewis, counsel for the EC, was not convinced. He pointed out that Blackpool "was one of the most popular resorts in Europe" with more than 47.5 miles of coastline consumed there each summer. Then, wielding his granny, he delivered the coup de grace. "She would have told you that Blackpool was the first place at which she ever went to the seaside at the turn of the century and she bathed at Blackpool almost until the end," he said.

The court will deliver its verdict on December 16.

Sea shunned, page 3

## Orkney enquiry blames care staff

By RAY CLANCY

SOCIAL workers who removed nine children aged between eight and 15 from their homes in Orkney in a dawn raid last year were so determined to find evidence of ritual sex abuse that they failed to think before acting, according to a judicial enquiry published yesterday.

The report, the result of an eight-month investigation by Scottish High Court Judge Lord Clyde, is highly critical of the role played by care workers and police who allowed their thinking to be "coloured by undefined suspicions".

Ian Lang, the Scottish secretary, told the Commons that he was "minded to accept the great majority" of the 194 recommendations in the report, and promised extra resources for social work training.

The children were taken from their homes, flown to the mainland, and sent home five weeks later. No charges were brought over allegations of ritual sex sessions between children and adults in a quarry on the island. All four sets of parents denied any wrongdoing when they gave evidence at the enquiry.

Last night the four families said through their lawyer that they intend to seek substantial damages. They described the report as a complete vindication of their position and demanded an apology for the whole island. Orkney island councillors said they were taken aback by the severity of the criticisms.

Full report, page 3

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## Critics of Major lack an alternative candidate

THE wily sages may shake their heads at the absurdity of the rumours and the tit-for-tat, but it is speculation time in the bars and corridors of Westminster. Is John Major bluffing about an election? Is he losing his touch? Is his leadership in peril?

Mr Major did not behave like a Tory leader on the way out in the Commons yesterday. The odds are still that the Maastricht bill will be ratified by parliament and that Mr Major will lead his party into the next election. However, MPs have begun to consider the possibility that he might not. Under party rules, there cannot be a formal challenge until the next parliamentary session starts, in 12 months' time, but, if the bill failed and Mr Major resigned, who would be in the running?

Winners of leadership contests are those who look right at the time, rather than early

RIDDELL  
ON POLITICS

front-runners. Trying to identify supporters of a candidate on a left-to-right spectrum is useless. More important is whether a career is advancing or declining. In the Tories' 1990 contest, Michael Heseltine attracted the backing of many ex-ministers. On the second ballot, the Thatcherites, or Euro-sceptics as they are now known, split. Some, such as Edward Leigh and James Pawsey, backed Mr Heseltine. Others, such as Nicholas and Ann Winterton, now very critical of government policy, backed Mr Major.

The Euro-sceptics — totalling at most 80, or about a quarter of Tory MPs — do not have a plausible leadership candidate. Their champions, Baroness Thatcher and Lord Tebbit, are now unavailable.



Heseltine: never wise to write him off



Thatcher: no longer available to fight

With the exception of free spirits such as John Biffen and Nicholas Budgen, the Euro-sceptics are an unimpressive bunch, largely failed ex-ministers and those who never made under-secretary. None

of their backbench spokesmen would draw much support. Kenneth Baker, who has come out against Maastricht, is viewed with as much suspicion by his new associates as by former pro-EC colleagues.

The serious candidates are all in the cabinet. The three front-runners — Kenneth Clarke, Michael Heseltine and Douglas Hurd — are even more pro-EC than Mr Major. Until the latest political troubles began, Mr Clarke enjoyed a following on the Tory right, admired as a combative debater. However, his arguing for Maastricht — plus his contempt for the Thatcherites irreconcilables — have earned him enemies on the right. But his stock is rising.

Mr Heseltine had one of the roughest weeks because of the retreat over pit closures. That has raised questions over his normally sure judgment. But it is never wise to write off Mr Heseltine. His reputation may take time to recover, but he will appeal to those wanting strong leadership. Several Euro-sceptics say privately that they would back him.

Mr Hurd has shown steady-

ness and authority during crisis. Although unpopular with the Euro-sceptics, he would attract support from those looking for reassurance.

The only remotely possible contenders among Euro-sceptic sympathisers in the cabinet are Michael Howard and Michael Portillo. Despite a solid ministerial record and a strong election campaign, Mr Howard does not yet have broad support among MPs. Mr Portillo, still under 40, has been in the cabinet for only six months and is the pundit's next prime minister but two.

This race card underlines the relative strength of Mr Major's position, with no sign of a challenge from within the cabinet, and no serious backbench candidate.

PETER RIDDELL

Simon Jenkins, page 16  
Leading article, page 17

## Normal pantomime service resumes as dame arrives in style



MATTHEW PARRIS  
POLITICAL SKETCH

Prime minister's questions was what we had all come to watch. As Mr Major is swept from whirlpool to whirlpool down the cascading rapids, we crowd into the chamber to peer in morbid curiosity at the brine. Is he still swimming?

He is, as we were to discover. But first we listened to defence secretary Malcolm Rifkind talking us through the latest bout of turbulence in the troubled flight of the European Fighter Aircraft.

MPs call it eefa. If there were any doubt that this is a crackpot project, yesterday's enthusiasm for it by politicians of all parties surely proved the point. Rifkind had found EC counterparts "very impressed" by eefa. Labour's Dr Clark saw eefa as "essential". The Liberals' Menzies Campbell thanked Rifkind for his pro-eefa stance. From SW Herts the Tories' Richard Page was overjoyed "not just for this eefa, but for the eefas of the future". As MPs slumbered through defence questions, present, future and projected eefas winging through their dreams, how many noticed the arrival, nodding ceremoniously to Madam Speaker, of Dame Jill Knight?

In recent weeks, the presence behind Mr Major's shoulder at PM's questions of Dame Jill, redoubtable member for Edgheaston and cornerstone of the 1922 committee, has lent an air of opera bouffe to proceedings. A retired actress and one-time star of the *Girls Gang Show*, the dignity which in later years has settled upon Dame Jill only adds to the diva quality so unmistakably hers. She is the Tory party's cuddly version of Kiri Te Kanawa, perhaps a shade larger and a little more mature.

too loud to be an MP. He and Dame Jill settled into their seats to watch.

It would have been hard for Mr Major and Mr Smith to live up to the backdrop or the moment. They didn't. Major must be judged the winner because he stayed cocky and upright when Smith ought to have been able to floor him.

We dare not advise Labour leaders what to ask, but we did rather think the question of the day was whether or not the PM deemed the coming Maastricht debate an issue of confidence. Major would not have answered, of course, but it might have been fun to watch him not answering.

Instead, we watched Mr Smith stage a minor volcanic eruption on the subject of the economy, to be answered by a minor tidal wave of facts and statistics from Mr Major. The commotion went on for some time, augmented by a small attempted earthquake from Paddy Ashdown. Eventually we were rescued by Roger Evans (C, Monmouth) who reminded MPs of the real



Dame Jill: never less than striking

And she dresses the part: never less than striking. Last week, in almost every TV picture of Mr Major in crisis, viewers saw a lady behind him robed in something which might have been designed for a Sabena air hostess in the futuristic 50s. It was Dame Jill.

PM's questions yesterday were an important test for Mr Major. The Dame's outfit made that clear. To call it arresting would underestimate it. It was inky black, setting off the violent colours of something more a mantle than a collar, a great plunging V described by two broad stripes, one within the other, the outer stripe turquoise, the inner one magenta. At the sharp end of the V hung a large medallion. The effect was of a cross between an Olympic swimmer and Dr Who.

Onto the benches opposite strode Jimmy Hood MP (Lab, Clydesdale) dressed in a zoot-suit whose colour can only be compared with pinky-orange blanchange. Rather too old to be a gangster, Mr Hood looked

threat to our nation: "the curse of new age travellers". With infinite relief the prime minister turned to deal with this question, at some length. This gave Edwina Currie the time to get out her "I (picture-of-heart) BASILDON" sticker, which (to Madam Speaker's distress) she held up for the cameras as Basildon's David Amess rose with a helpful enquiry about plummeting mortgage rates at Basildon. Then Labour's Kim Howells (Pontypridd) called Mark Thatcher a "grease-palmer", a case of discourtesy mitigated by dyslexia.

And normal pantomime service resumed. Dame Jill's medallion flashed in the TV lights as Mr Hood inspected his pink suit for soup-stains. Madam Speaker gathered in her gown. Dr Spink (C, Castle Point) polished his big specs in preparation for his "10 minute rule bill" on pornography, and Mrs Mary Whitehouse (or was it Edna Everage?) watched, fascinated, from the special gallery. MPs dreamed, not just of the eefas of today, but the eefas of tomorrow, too.

## Escape clause for Denmark strengthens Major's hand

■ Early publication of Denmark's Maastricht proposal undercuts one of the main arguments of Conservative Euro-sceptics and the Labour party.

FROM CHRISTOPHER FOLLETT IN COPENHAGEN

DENMARK'S Conservative-Liberal minority government is due to present its parliament today with a draft "national compromise" plan for reversing the Danes' rejection of the Maastricht

The plan, to be finally approved by parliament's EC affairs committee on Friday, calls for special protocols to the treaty allowing Denmark to opt out of plans for joint EC currency, defence, citizenship and law enforcement.

The proposal, virtually identical to that unveiled last week by the opposition majority led by the Social Democrats, will also call for openness, democracy and decentralisation in EC decision-making and minimal interference from Brussels. Denmark will want assurances that the influence of smaller states remains undiluted in any new, extended Community as well as guarantees of closer economic co-operation through the Single Market.

The government wants a clause in the protocol expressing Denmark's willingness to provide aid to poorer EC states.

Poul Schluter, the prime minister, said the plan supported by seven of the eight political parties in parliament — the outsider being the maverick, ultra-rightist Progress Party — had good chances of being accepted by other EC members as well as by the Danish electorate. But the crucial issue of how to get round their refusal to re-open the treaty to accommodate the Danes is evaded.

The support of the Socialist Peoples' party, which led

opposition against the treaty and which was one of the architects of the opposition's "national compromise" plan, will increase the chances of a 'yes' in a new referendum in the spring.

After the proposal is announced on Friday, Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, the foreign minister, is to embark in early November on a tour of EC capitals to clarify Denmark's stance. Denmark hopes the deal will be discussed at the EC summit in Edinburgh, allowing parliament to pass the necessary legislation in early 1993 prior to the holding of a fresh plebiscite.

Britain has welcomed the early publication of the Danish proposal. It undercuts one of the main arguments of Conservative Euro-sceptics and the Labour party that no debate on Maastricht can begin at Westminster until Denmark's views are known. The European Commission must prove its ability to conduct important negotiations on behalf of the EC's 12 states by finalising a deal in the fulfurling world trade talks, Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary said yesterday (George Brock writes from Strasbourg). Mr Hurd told the European Parliament that "no other single factor" could do more to solve the world's current economic problems than a new trade liberalisation treaty under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. But the trade deal is paralysed by long-running disputes over farm subsidies between the EC and America.

Leading article, page 17



Danish advocates: Poul Schluter, the prime minister, with Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, the foreign minister

## Cabinet faces up to Maastricht rebels

Continued from page 1  
eccentric rightwingers still grieving over Thatcher's demise, holding, ramped up meetings and then descending the staircase grandly to give the government their latest instructions.

As Mr Dykes spoke out his pro-European friends belatedly began organising Maastricht support for the prime minister. Two senior MPs, Sir Anthony Grant and Ray Whitney, formed a special group to plot tactics in support of the cabinet line, and Ian Taylor, a parliamentary aide to William Waldegrave, tried to reactivate the moribund Conservative Group for Europe.

The cabinet also weighed in with an assault on Labour's apparently changing position. It is clear that if Mr Major is

forced to retreat next week, he will blame Labour's alleged U-turn; the party is expected to vote against the "paving" motion because it says Mr Major is treating it as a confidence vote. In the Commons yesterday Mr Major accused John Smith of undermining the case for Europe with his "manoeuvres" over next week's vote. Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary, openly blamed Labour during a speech in the European parliament for deepening the political crisis over the Maastricht treaty. "In the last few days we seem to have seen a change for the worse in the attitude of the British Labour party which, if confirmed, is a serious matter," he said.

Leading articles, page 17

## Whips' instincts to fore in vital motion

By PHILIP WEBSTER, CHIEF POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

THE instincts of the whips will be to the fore this week as the government decides the form of the motion on which it may stake its credibility in the Maastricht debate.

John Major, a former whip, will play the key role in determining what the cabinet can get through the restless parliamentary party. He will be advised by Richard Ryder, the chief whip, Tony Newton, Commons leader, Douglas Hurd, the foreign secretary, and, almost certainly, Lord Wakeham, a former chief whip. Sir Norman Fowler, the party chairman, will also be involved, giving Mr Major the latest state of grassroots opinion.

Mr Major and that minist-

rial group had a brief discussion on options for a motion yesterday, carefully leaving open the possibility of a technical adjournment motion next Wednesday that would help the prime minister to avoid an outright clash with his backbenchers.

An adjournment motion would make life easier both for the Tory rebels and Labour Euro enthusiasts. The rebels could happily treat it as a vote without any commitment to Maastricht.

Labour MPs who might be worried about seeing the party depart from its pro-Maastricht stance could vote against the government with a clear conscience. The cabinet will make the final decision tomorrow.

## MPs must get Major off the hook — again

WAS it only a week ago that we were battling to help Michael Heseltine out of the pits closure crisis? This week it is the Prime Minister himself who needs help. We have to face the unpleasant fact that his survival is now at stake too.

Personally, I hope desperately that he does survive this crisis. But for him to do so requires an instinct for survival that for the moment seems to have deserted him. For John Major, nothing has gone right since the central pillar of his economic policy collapsed — our membership of the ERM. Why was it we had to wait more than four weeks before any commitment was given to a new strategy for recovery? Was it because a powerful group of ministers were still intent on the pound shadowing the mark in the hope of getting us back into the ERM at a lower parity as soon as possible?

Our hopes for recovery fled away while ministers made up their minds. It is this lapse in

leadership that has left John Major in such a weak position to take on a substantial section of his own party over Maastricht.

On top of this came the pits crisis — incompetently handled; further proof if any were needed that in their preoccupation with Maastricht ministers had let their eye stray from the ball.

It was left to the 1922 executive to negotiate a way out with Michael Heseltine that saved the government from defeat last Wednesday. If we had not done so, then Mr Heseltine would today be a backbencher alongside the rest of us.

Many of us warned John Major of the crisis into which he appeared to be wandering blindfold. For his sudden determination to push on with the Maastricht bill before the Edinburgh Council was totally out of tune with the country's priorities.

Even strong pro-Europeans like myself, who voted for the bill on second reading, had to reassess the situation in the light of the Danish referendum result and the ERM experience which makes the moves towards a single Europe that is at the centre of the treaty fatally flawed.

Even a week ago John Major still had a way out, but he chose not to take our advice. Instead, someone told him he



Gardiner: "Major's survival is at stake"

had to act decisively to restore his authority, and he chose the very worst issue on which to do it — the issue that was guaranteed to split the party from top to bottom.

There was no consultation with the party, just as there had been no consultation over the pit closures. Then, to compound the damage, we had the ludicrous threat of a general election if the prime minister could not get his way on this issue.

I have a lot of admiration for John Major, and I just do not believe him capable of such a petulant act to punish the party — his own party — which he feels has let him down. I'm sure he has no wish to become

the Tory party's Ramsay MacDonald. One can agree whether the Queen would ever agree to a dissolution only six months after an election that returned a government with a decisive majority, and which had not even put its support to the test of a motion of confidence.

But apart from this, it is just not credible that a cabinet and party would even allow a prime minister to ask for a dissolution without first seeking the confidence of the House, since this would consign them all to political oblivion for a Parliament or more.

I do not believe that John Major has this death wish, but there is no reason why the rest of the cabinet and party should be partners in a suicide pact. So what should senior backbenchers do in this crisis? We should do what we did in the pits crisis a week ago and find a way of letting John Major off the hook if we are to have a "paving motion" next week approving the principles of Maastricht — and I see no earthly reason why we should — then it should be on a free vote. And I mean a genuine free vote. The Opposition would have to allow a free vote too — and it is possible that this would give John Major the majority he seeks. Alternatively the debate could be on a procedural motion, such as on

the adjournment, which would allow all Tories to demonstrate their desire for John Major to remain in office, but avoid any commitment to Maastricht.

After that, the urgent task must be to heal the wounds inflicted on the Tory party — outside the House, as well as in. That will mean returning to the strategy outlined by John Major on 24 September when he said: "It would not make sense to bring the Maastricht bill back to the House of Commons before we know clearly what the Danish intentions are, and when and how the Danes propose to consult their people again." This would involve no loss of face for John Major at all, and at least allow the Tory party to regroup ready for all the difficult economic challenges that lie ahead. The alternative is to order the whips to twist so many people's arms that a majority for a "paving motion" on Maastricht is secured — just.

Yet the price of that will be a bitterly divided party at Westminster, and a party smitten to its knees outside. Is this what John Major wants? I just cannot believe it. There has to be a better way of party management than this.

GEORGE GARDINER  
Sir George Gardiner is  
Conservative MP for Reigate.

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Clyde report calls for better training after damning criticism of social services, care agencies and police

## Care workers 'acted irrationally' in Orkney abuse case

By RAY CLANCY

CHILD care and social workers failed to keep an open mind when investigating allegations of organised abuse in Orkney, a highly critical report by Lord Clyde, published yesterday, concludes. They acted quickly and irrationally and did not consider an alternative to taking the children into care.

Lord Clyde, who chaired the judicial enquiry into the case, orders the Orkney Islands Council to improve relations with the 1,000 people on the island of South Ronaldsay. His report recommends changes in the law and improved training for social workers, care officials and police.

The enquiry came after the nine children were taken from their homes in February 1991 and returned three months later after Sheriff David Kelbie said that the investigation by the social work department had been fatally flawed.

Lord Clyde agreed that it was right to return the children, but that the move had been carried out too quickly. "Although by normal standards the return was managed at an undue speed, the decision to achieve an immediate return cannot reasonably be criticised in the circumstances," he said.

The children were seized after allegations of sex abuse made by three children. Sheriff Kelbie said that threw out the case in Kirkwall in April last year, saying that social workers had coached the children. They were flown home that day. The strength of the allegations has not been tested. Lord Clyde's remit did not allow him to investigate whether or not organised abuse was taking place.

Lord Clyde calls for urgent research into all forms of child abuse and, in particular, cases of multiple abuse in rural areas of Scotland, and a better

relationship between all agencies involved. The discovery of abuse should not be the monopoly of one organisation.

The report was expected to be hard on the social work department and officials from the Scottish Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children, but the extent of the indictment was a surprise. Lord Clyde made 135 criticisms and accused the social work department of not making a detailed enough study of the problem relating to the original family and allowing "thinking to be coloured by undefined suspicions".

The list of criticisms included the following findings:   
 □ A failure on the part of social workers, the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children and the police to distinguish adequately between taking the allegations seriously and believing them.

□ A failure by the same agencies to appreciate the significance of the fact that the allegations did not come from the allegedly abused children and that greater regard should have been given to the source from which the allegations had come.

□ The degree of risk to the nine children involved was not adequately assessed. The social work department failed to consider whether there was any other appropriate action than removal of the children and acted too precipitately.

□ A failure by social workers to reassess the position in the light of medical examinations, for which parents should have been asked to sign written consent forms.

□ Inadequate consideration was given by the social work department to the support of the parents. Further and fuller information should have been given to the parents and they should have been given information about the whereabouts of their children.

□ The interviewers failed to plan adequately how to deal with a child's denial of allegations and how to introduce explicit information. They over-stressed their belief in the truth of the allegations. The police interviewers were inadequately trained and lack adequate supervision.

Lord Clyde recommended better training for social workers, care workers and police, to be introduced quickly. Central and local governments should consider the introduction of a three-year qualification course for social workers and post-qualifying training as a priority.



Mutual support: one of the families whose anguish is ended by the report. "It is not a whitewash. I am so glad of that," a mother said

## Flaws exposed in Scots law

By JEREMY LAURANCE, HEALTH SERVICES CORRESPONDENT

SCOTTISH social workers would say "it could never happen here" when a child abuse scandal broke south of the border. Then it did.

Through the 1970s and 1980s, a string of tragedies had unfolded in England from Maria Colwell to Jasmine Beckford, each followed by an enquiry that found serious shortcomings in the child protection system. Scotland somehow escaped these disasters — until Orkney.

Scottish social workers believed it was their unique legal system that protected them from scandal. The widely admired children's panels, presided over by a lay "reporter", put the welfare of the child first in contrast to the adversarial English system in which the interests of the child have tended to get overlooked.

Its failure in the Orkney case prompted one English social services director to comment: "It just proves how difficult it is to get these cases right." The Clyde report's central criticism of the Orkney social workers and police is their failure to distinguish between taking the children's allegations seriously and believing them.

Child sex abuse is still a new phenomenon to social workers and there is little experience anywhere of investigations of multiple abuse. When a new condition is described there is often a flurry of excitement among professionals. When it

involves emotionally powerful material it is all the more likely to affect judgment and action. The Clyde report makes clear that the sledgehammer response to allegations of sex abuse, using all legal and social work powers, is not appropriate. Too little consideration was given to alternatives to removing the children, it says, especially given the "complexity, labour and expense" of the operation.

As the 1988 Cleveland enquiry by Lord Justice Butler Sloss also noted, aggressive intervention can cause the system to buckle. "Pause and think" is Lord Clyde's advice, echoing Butler-Sloss's admonition: "Cautious, measured intervention."

In England, social workers believe that changes in the law and social work practice in the last two years make an incident like the Orkney case less

likely. The Children Act gives parents stronger powers, an improved appeal system to the court and imposes new controls on the removal of children from their families.

The Criminal Justice Act includes a "memorandum of good practice" covering procedures for interviewing children and the health department has issued further advice. "These are all checks and balances that did not exist two or three years ago," Ian White, immediate past president of the Association of Directors of Social Services, said. "In England and Wales there has been a significant shift of power back to the parents."

The Clyde report leaves unanswered whether ritual abuse occurred on the island of South Ronaldsay. Social workers are still uncertain whether it exists at all.

## Delighted parents free to smile again

SMILING for almost the first time in two years, one of the mothers whose children were taken from home in the Orkney dawn raids said yesterday that she was relieved and delighted by the Clyde enquiry report. She said that she, her husband and their friends had suffered anguish at the hands of the care and social workers who failed to think before taking children into care (Ray Clancy writes).

Her husband, clasp a copy of the report, said that no one on the island of South Ronaldsay had been untouched by the affair, which had been a fiasco. Another father said: "The whole island needs an apology, not just us."

The families, who have undergone psychiatric treatment from the counsellors who helped the families of the

victims of the Lockerbie air disaster, welcomed the report as "brilliant" and "astonishing". "It is not a whitewash. I am so glad of that," one mother said.

The parents had travelled to Kirkwall to pick up copies of the report so that the community could read it first-hand. Some stayed at home, still too upset to face the media and the council officials whom they have come to regard with suspicion.

On South Ronaldsay, harvest festivals, traditionally decorated with straw effigies of fertility, have been low key this year. Halloween masks have been left on the shop shelves because of fears that they, like the pantomime masks seized from the church by police, could be misconstrued as some sort of devilish sign.

## How events on the islands unfolded

November 7 1990: The first of eight children from South Ronaldsay taken into care. One tells a social worker she had made "wild passionate love" with the local minister.

February 6 1991: Another girl, 8, tells RSPCC and police interviewers of bizarre sexual rituals in an island quarry led by the Rev Morris McKennie and involving other children and adults. Over the next few days a brother, 7, and sister, 9, appear to back up the claims.

February 13 1991: Police and social workers "convinced there is an organised network of child sex abuse on the island. Meetings held to decide action."

February 27 1991: A 20-car convoy of police and social workers descends on South Ronaldsay just after 7am. Nine children from four families are taken and flown to the mainland. Three sets of parents and the McKennies are questioned by police.

March 1 1991: More than 100 islanders attend a public meeting at St Margaret's Hope village hall. Parents describe events when their children were taken away. Other families talk about a second wave and plan to hide their children.

March 5 1991: A Children's Panel hearing in Kirkwall grants 21-day place-of-safety orders on all nine children.

None of the youngsters is present.

March 6 1991: Appeals by the parents against the orders are rejected by Ronald Ireland, the sheriff principal.

March 20 1991: The fourth set of parents is questioned by police; doubts are expressed about their involvement.

March 25 1991: A second panel hearing agrees to continue place-of-safety orders for a further 21 days. Reporter Gordon Sloan refuses to show medical evidence that none of the children showed signs of abuse.

April 4 1991: Proof hearing dismissed by Sheriff David Kelbie, who describes the proceedings as "fatally flawed" and claims Mr Sloan ignored the rules. Angry parents storm the office of Paul Lee, the social work director in Kirkwall, demanding their children be returned immediately. Later that day the youngsters arrive at Kirkwall airport.

April 19 1991: Ian Lang, the Scottish secretary, announces a full judicial enquiry. However the remit rules out examination of whether or not abuse took place.

August 26 1991: The enquiry, under Lord Clyde, opens in Kirkwall town hall.

May 12 1992: The enquiry ends after 135 days of evidence from 69 witnesses at a cost of £6 million.

## Rural decline

## Loss of vital services saps strength of English villages

By KATE ALDERSON

RURAL England is in decay and the fabric of village life is being eroded because many services on which remote villages depend are being withdrawn on the grounds of unprofitability and under-use.

Shops, post offices, public houses, schools, village halls and bus services, regarded as essential services, are under threat because of increasing centralisation of services in towns and falling profit margins of commercial services.

A national survey of rural services, published yesterday by the Rural Development Commission, highlights the growing concern that many villages are being stranded without basic services. More than ten million people in England live in "rural communities".

Nearly 8,000 parishes were surveyed throughout rural England in 1991. The survey says that the disappearance of many rural facilities is causing difficulties for those who are less well-off and less mobile, and is also sapping the vitality of communities.

The South West, South East, East Anglia and the central southern region have the best level of services. North Yorkshire, Leicestershire and Lincolnshire are among those areas with the least provision.

One picturesque village with poor services is Mickleton, in Teesdale, Co. Durham, with a population of 1400. It lost its school more than ten years ago. People travel eight miles to the nearest large town, Barnard Castle, and 24 miles to a hospital with an accident

and emergency unit. The daily bus service to the town declined after deregulation.

In 39 per cent of parishes in England there are no shops and 31 per cent have no pub or hotel. Nearly two-thirds have a post-office, three-quarters of which include a shop. The decline of village shops and post offices has been caused by more car ownership and the growth of supermarkets and shopping centres.

Children take longer bus journeys to school after the closure of many, notably in communities with a population of less than 200. Falling school rolls and a squeeze on local authority budgets in the 1980s has left 5 per cent of parishes with a secondary school, 40 per cent with a primary school and about a quarter with a middle school.

But the village hall is still a thriving institution, found in 71 per cent of parishes. Even half of all communities with a population below 200 have some kind of meeting place. More than 80 per cent of parishes have a Women's In-

stitute or Mothers' Union, the most active organisation in rural communities.

Life without a car is difficult. The 1985 Transport Act, which deregulated public bus services, made life worse. Only 7 per cent of parishes have a railway service and 87 per cent have a bus service, only a quarter of which run daily.

The survey says 3 per cent of parishes have a public nursery, 6 per cent have day-care for the elderly, and two per cent of parishes have a police station. In the last decade the number of doctors surgeries has fallen and practices have become larger. Many smaller hospitals have closed.

Cornwall Rural Community Council, in one of the most highly-rated regions, says the survey is flawed. Andrew George, a field officer, said: "The survey looks at parishes, but in Cornwall many parishes have ten villages or hamlets, and so this could explain why we appear to have a high level of services."

Leader, page 17

## ERODING SERVICES IN RURAL AREAS

Services	Parishes without key services (%)	% parishes
Police station	98	98
GP	98	98
Pharmacy	97	97
Sports field	97	97
Community centre	97	97
Mobile library	95	95
Bus service	87	87
Day care group for elderly	84	84
Rail service	83	83
Fire station	84	84

Source: Rural Development Commission 1991 survey of 7,863 parishes

## The way it isn't

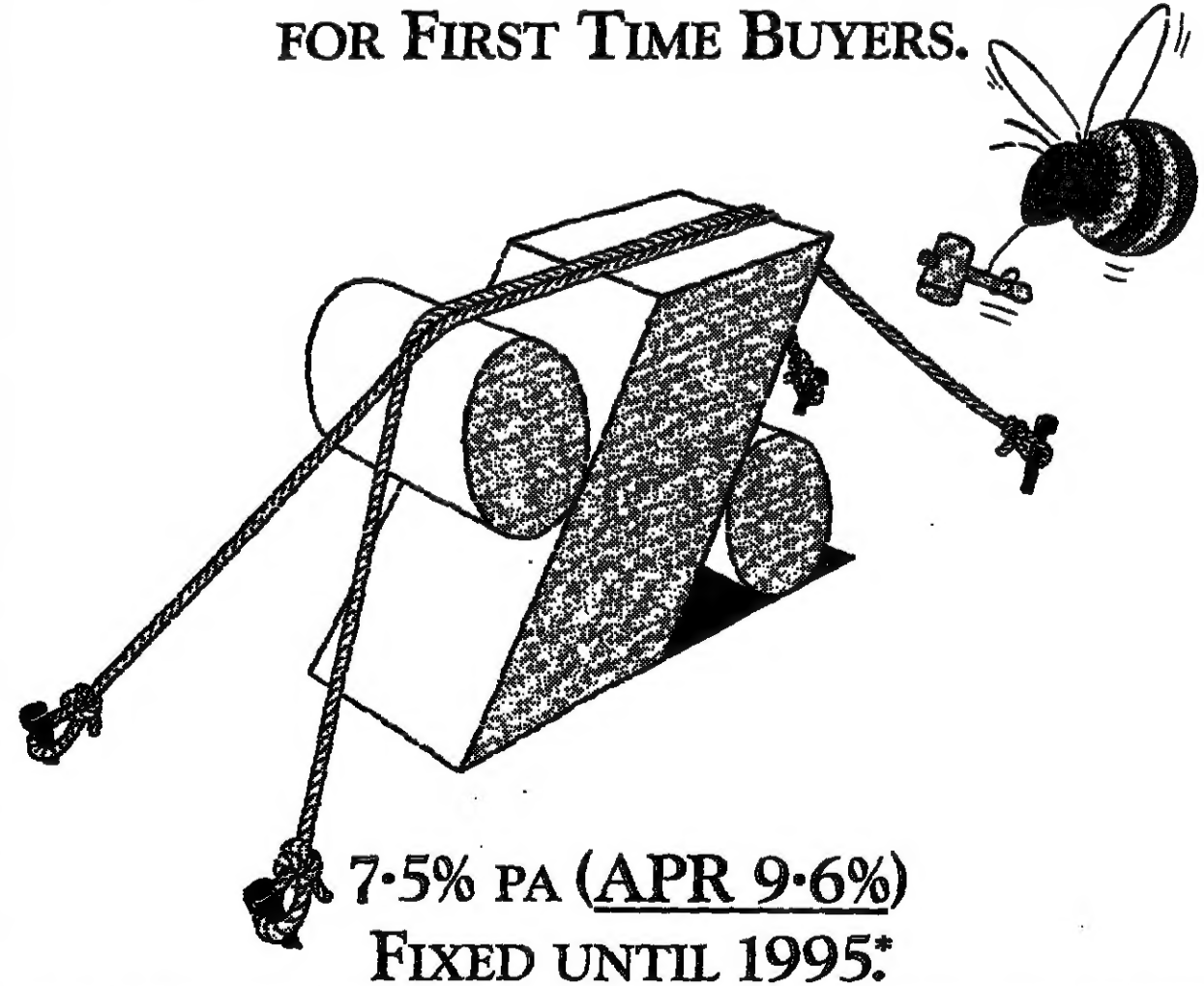


IT used to be a question asked of lesbians and chiropractors, but now one wonders what it is that political commentators do. They are solemn, holier-than-thou, with minuscule, as sure of themselves as fairground fortune-tellers, their columns joke-free zones of gravel-faced predictions. Politicians adore them for giving the lie to the notion that politics is the art of making the inevitable seem planned; week in, week out, they emphasise the skills and wiles of individual politicians, flattering them with the notion that they are the very lynchpins upon which the future of Britain turns.

Unlike a joke, which can be judged in a second, the prediction of the political commentator cannot be judged for a good six months, by which time it will have been forgotten anyway, buried under a hundred new predictions.

Who first mistook Mr Major's dullness for expertise, naivety for clear-sightedness, quietness for depth, timidity for toughness? Why, political commentators? Private Eye, that hotbed of frivolity, portrayed him as an Adrian Mole figure, incompetent, well-meaning, dull-witted and hopeless. Of the two — satirist and political commentator — which seems the more accurate now?

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## NT chief accuses BBC of inertia

By ALISON ROBERTS  
ARTS REPORTER

THE director of the Royal National Theatre launched a powerful attack on the beleaguered BBC management yesterday, accusing it of encouraging an "inert and supine bureaucracy" which measures success purely by programme ratings instead of quality of output.

Speaking at the Arts Council's first conference on the arts and broadcasting in Brighton, Richard Eyre criticised the corporation for embracing market forces too readily in an attempt "to stay one jump ahead of the government".

"They have espoused producer choice — a policy of chaos and confusion. The consequence of all this loss of nerve in the management is a loss of vision... The BBC crisis is a crisis of faith." A packed auditorium of producers, directors and artists, representing the cream of British arts broadcasting, greeted the speech with prolonged applause.

While Lord Palumbo, chairman of the Arts Council, opened the conference with an upbeat message asking the delegates to preserve a safe home for the arts on television, Mr Eyre lamented the demise of the public broadcasting ideal and a golden age of British arts broadcasting. Alan Yentob, controller of BBC2, contrasted British television with its European counterpart which "has suffered from too much regulation, deregulation and self-abuse".

## Surgeon says detective has good chance of recovery after 11½ hr operation

### Police officer's hand sewn on after attack

By NIGEL HAWKES, SCIENCE EDITOR

THE policeman who lost a hand after being attacked with a samurai sword has an excellent chance of recovery, according to a surgeon who helped sew the hand back on.

David Gault, consultant plastic surgeon at Mount Vernon Hospital in Northwood, north London, who led a team of six surgeons and eight medical staff, working in shifts in an 11½-hr operation, said that it could not have gone better.

The hospital said last night that Sgt Bob Window, from Edmonton police station, was "comfortable". A spokeswoman said: "He may have some swelling this evening. He has only had a glass of water so far."

It would be several days before doctors could assess the success of the operation. It is hoped that Sgt Window will be able to return to normal activities such as driving and playing cricket.

Sgt Window's left hand was hacked off after he and two colleagues entered flats in

Tottenham to carry out a search warrant. Four men were arrested after the incident.

Neighbours helped by preserving the hand as best they could with ice and packets of frozen food. Sgt Window was flown by helicopter to Mount Vernon, which has a unit specialising in plastic surgery. The hand had been severed a third of the way up the forearm by two blows, which had badly damaged tendons, nerves and bones.

The process of re-attaching a hand is a lengthy but straightforward procedure. The surgical team wore glasses with microscope lenses to carry out the delicate job. To keep the surgeons fresh, they divided into groups and worked in shifts of between an hour and 90 minutes each.

Sgt Window arrived at Mount Vernon just after 6pm. By 7pm he was in the operating theatre, having been prepared for a lengthy operation. Surgeons cleaned the wound, removing hopelessly fractured bone and cutting away tissue.

First the bones were fixed together with metal plates and then the blood vessels were reconnected to restore circulation before the skin of the hand had time to die. Attempts to re-attach limbs after more than about six hours run the risk of allowing dead cells to enter the body, where they can cause damage to organs such as the liver.

The final stage, in the early hours of the morning, was to sew together the outer skin and fix the limb in a half plaster cast, which allows doctors to observe the colour and temperature of the palm.

Mr Gault said: "It is certainly long and time-consuming, but it's not technically very



Surgeon David Gault yesterday: "The operation could not have gone better"

demanding. It's just a question of persevering." It may have been fortunate for Sgt Window that the journey to the hospital was not longer. If so, the improvised ice-pack might have done more harm than good by freezing his severed hand.

Mr Gault advised yesterday that the best method of preservation is a mixture of ice and

water, to keep the limb at freezing point but no colder. To restore the blood supply, two major arteries and five veins had to be reconnected, using needles finer than a human hair and working through a microscope. By 10pm on Monday, five and a half hours after Sgt Window was attacked, the blood vessels had been reconnected and the

severed hand began to regain colour. In general, operations to reconnect hands have a good success rate; the higher up the arm, the less effective they tend to be. Sgt Window suffered serious damage to tendons and nerves. The nerves must be realigned so that natural growth can repair the connection. This may take months or years.

## NEWS IN BRIEF

### Ministers 'allowed arms risk exports'

Government ministers allowed a British-based company to export to Iraq knowing that its machinery might be used to make arms, the Central Criminal Court was told yesterday (Nicholas Watt writes). The Foreign Office resisted pressure from the trade and industry department to hold up export licences because it wanted to maintain an intelligence source in Iraq for M16, it was alleged.

Although a secret Foreign Office memo said in 1989 that the machinery was destined for a known arms factory, senior ministers from three government departments agreed to approve the licences, the court was told. The memo warned that if Matrix Churchill, a Coventry engineering company, was refused export licences for the multi-million pound order for software and tooling, the company might have to close. This would have meant that the managing director, Paul Henderson, could no longer have acted as a source for M16, the court was told. Mr Henderson and two other Matrix Churchill executives, Peter Allen and Trevor Abraham, deny charges of exporting or attempting to export prohibited goods to Iraq. The trial continues today.

### Teacher prize launched

A "Booker prize" for chemistry teachers was launched by the Salters' Company in London yesterday. Each year the City Livery company will award £10,000 to the best chemistry teacher to improve the teaching of the subject. The prize will be for teachers in primary and secondary schools as a personal reward for inspiring and motivating pupils in chemistry. The livery company has launched the prize to celebrate its 600th anniversary. Its link with chemistry goes back to 1918, when it founded the Salters' Institute of Industrial Chemistry to promote chemical education. Nominations are being sought from parents, teachers, school governors and pupils.

### Press policy defended

The Press Complaints Commission yesterday defended its policy of refusing to accept third party complaints by arguing that it could not adjudicate a complaint about newspaper coverage or conduct unless it had the co-operation of the person directly affected. "The commission cannot reach any decision when only one side of a story is available to them... If the person featured in such reports does not complain, then only in exceptional circumstances which raise matters of great public interest should they take action under the code of practice," it said.

### Conviction quashed

Michael Boler, jailed for ten years for a building society robbery in Derby which he claims he did not commit, was yesterday freed on bail by the Court of Appeal, which quashed his conviction. Lord Justice Farquharson said the verdict was unsafe and unsatisfactory. Boler, 40, of Chesterfield, Derbyshire, who has spent 15 months in jail, faces a new trial. In the summer, Nick Moore, another prisoner, went on the run after admitting to the robbery and vowed to stay free until Boler was freed and cleared.

### Bingo killer jailed

A woman addicted to bingo was jailed for five years yesterday for killing her elderly mother with a hammer and stealing her money to feed her gambling obsession. Margaret Allan, 55, of Grimsby, Humberside, was convicted of manslaughter on the grounds of provocation. Nottingham Crown Court was told that she hit Hilda Christian, 89, 12 times with the hammer and stole £3,000 from her hidden savings. Allan claimed that her mother had strangled her and said harmful things about her dead son.

### Britons share Iraqi cell

Michael Wainwright, right, the British cyclist jailed in Iraq, is now sharing a cell with Paul Ride, the British catering manager, and two Swedes, his family said yesterday. He has taken up model-making and has asked for a supply of glue and matchsticks. Mr Wainwright's sister Heather Horne, 31, of Sowerby Bridge, West Yorkshire, said: "He seems to be in good spirits, very chirpy."



### Dodgers face spot fines

London Transport is to introduce on-the-spot fines on Underground and bus services to stamp out fare evasion. On the Underground, a £10 "penalty fare" will be introduced in mid-1994 while a £5 fine will be introduced on buses from next spring. The move follows the success of a penalty fares system on Network SouthEast which has saved millions of pounds in lost revenue. London Underground plans to improve its ticket machines so there will be even less excuse for travelling without a ticket.

### Stranded sailors rebel

A crew of Russian sailors stranded at Leith docks, near Edinburgh, are threatening to seize their ship today unless a court in Moscow orders the payment of four months wages. The crew of the *Boleyn* has been surviving on charity while a legal battle for ownership of the boat remains unresolved. Captain Lev Balabontsev says that if the Russian Supreme Court delays a decision due today, he will sell the ship.

### Britons' Costa villas blighted

FROM EDWARD OWEN  
IN MADRID

THE owners of about 54.5 million worth of holiday villas and retirement homes in Spain, most of them Britons, have found that they cannot sell or bequeath the properties because regional authorities on the Costa Blanca have decided to extend a natural park without notification.

All the houses were built legally, some over 100 years ago, but the Denia local authority and the Valencia government, which issued the decree, have announced that they will have first rights to acquire the properties in future, without saying how or when. A recent town development, Los Lagos, approved by Denia's planning department in a non-urban zone, escapes the ruling although in the same area.

The Valencia decree, issued last July, extended the Mingo natural park, a 2,471 ft mountain between the resorts of Denia and Javea, to a strip of land between the previous park limits and a road linking the two towns. John Mortlock, one of 50 residents opposing the decree, said: "I have owned my house for 21 years and it is about 180 years old. I intend to fight this diabolical law. I only found out about it when I put my house on the market."

### Bathers shun Blackpool sea

By RONALD FAUX

THERE were 3,000 bathers in Blackpool yesterday, enjoying the 82-degree waters and a wave-lapped shore as pink flamingoes flapped peacefully overhead. The fact that the water was chlorinated, the waves artificially induced and the flamingoes heavy-duty glass fibre mattered not an ice cream cone.

For the revellers in the town's £17 million Sand Castle entertainment centre the surrogate seaside was definitely preferable to the real thing which, swept by wind and rain was living up to John Collins' assertion that Blackpool did not possess a bathing beach.

John Donovan, secretary of the Blackpool Hotel and Guesthouse Association, the biggest organisation of its kind in Europe, said: "The sea is really irrelevant now to Blackpool and anyone who went bathing in it today wants

their head examined. We have just had our best season ever. We have had these stories about the sea for years yet 12 million people still come here every year."

Dorothy Preston, the mayor of Blackpool, defended the resort's natural waters. "I have bathed in that sea since I was eight and I was swimming in it up to three years ago and it never did me any harm. It does seem rather ludicrous to say it is not a bathing beach and at least it is tidal. What goes out moves on, unlike the Mediterranean."

Barry Morris, director of tourism, insisted that according to the European rule book at the time, Mr Collins was quite correct to argue that Blackpool beach did not qualify as a bathing beach even though the town had become the largest single resort in Europe. With nine miles of

beach and water only knee deep a quarter of a mile from the shore, numbers became diluted and it was often difficult to get down to the business of actually swimming.

"When we realised there was a problem we did turn our backs on the beaches and concentrate on developing entertainment on shore," he said. "Blackpool now earns £454 million from tourism so clearly not many people are put off by the publicity about the state of the sea."

A solution to the problem was on the way. Next season the inshore waters are to be dosed with disinfectant and at North West Water succeeds at a forthcoming public enquiry, the effluents that give the town a bad name will be purified at a treatment works long before it enters the sea.

EC court case, page 1

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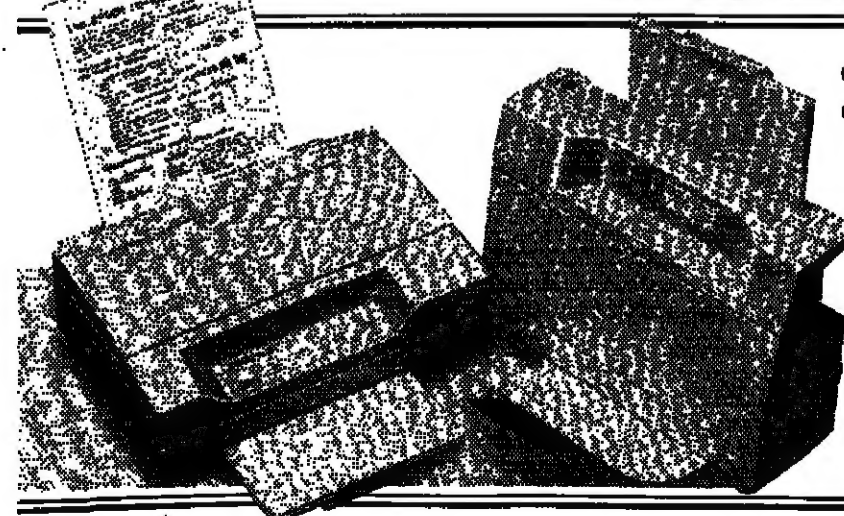
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## Blessings numerous as the sand

Fingers in the sand: Venerable Thinlay, right, a Buddhist monk from Tibet, points out some of the 722 deities on the Sand Kalachakra Mandala, which he helped create (Julia Llewellyn Smith writes)

The mandala is made from coloured sand from ground precious stones and is on display in The Sacred Art of Tibet exhibition at the Royal Academy of Arts, in London.

Buddhists believe that the completed sand mandala embodies a vast store of spiritual energy, as each grain of sand is charged with the blessings of a ritual. The art of creating sand mandalas has been passed on from teacher to student since the sixth century.

Each mandala is seen by Buddhists as a sacred mansion with a particular deity residing at the centre. This mandala is devoted to peace and physical balance. Buddhists say that the mandala is an expression of the Buddha's fully enlightened mind. The Dalai Lama says that a person who sees the Kalachakra mandala will feel the world's tensions and violence transformed into beneficial wisdom and intuition.

The exhibition, sponsored by The Times, runs until December 13.



## Defence ministry considers arming against Third World missile risk

By MICHAEL EVANS  
DEFENCE CORRESPONDENT

GOVERNMENT defence researchers are about to study the cost effectiveness of buying or developing a limited anti-ballistic missile system to counter threats from potentially hostile Third World countries within 3,000 kilometres (1,874 miles) of Britain.

A decision on whether to deploy a weapon system against medium-range ballistic missiles is expected in two or three years, defence ministry sources said yesterday. Since such a programme could cost several billion pounds, it would have implications for the whole defence procurement budget.

Theoretical studies were carried out by the ministry following President Reagan's "Star Wars" speech, in 1983, in which he called on American scientists to produce a system that would create a space- and ground-based, anti-ballistic missile (ABM) shield against nuclear attack by the Soviet Union. However, there was no political support for a British ABM system.

Ministry officials said that there was now growing awareness that, with the proliferation of Third World countries acquiring or developing ballistic missiles, potentially with nuclear, chemical or biological warheads, the threat might have to be countered with a limited ABM system. Libya, for example, is about 3,000 kilometres from northern Scotland, within firing range for such a system as the Chinese-made CSS2 missile.

An anti-ballistic missile system would also defend against

■ The Cold war may be over, but threats of a mishap in Russia or aggression from a Third World nation are prompting a re-think of British defence policy that could involve upgrading the country's existing weaponry

accidental launch of missiles from former Soviet republics. Russian scientists have expressed concern over early-warning radar false alarms. A British official said: "This issue has now moved to the front burner. However, just

because a country acquires the capability, it doesn't necessarily mean we have to counter it. We have to weigh up the threat it might pose to Britain and the cost effectiveness of having a system."

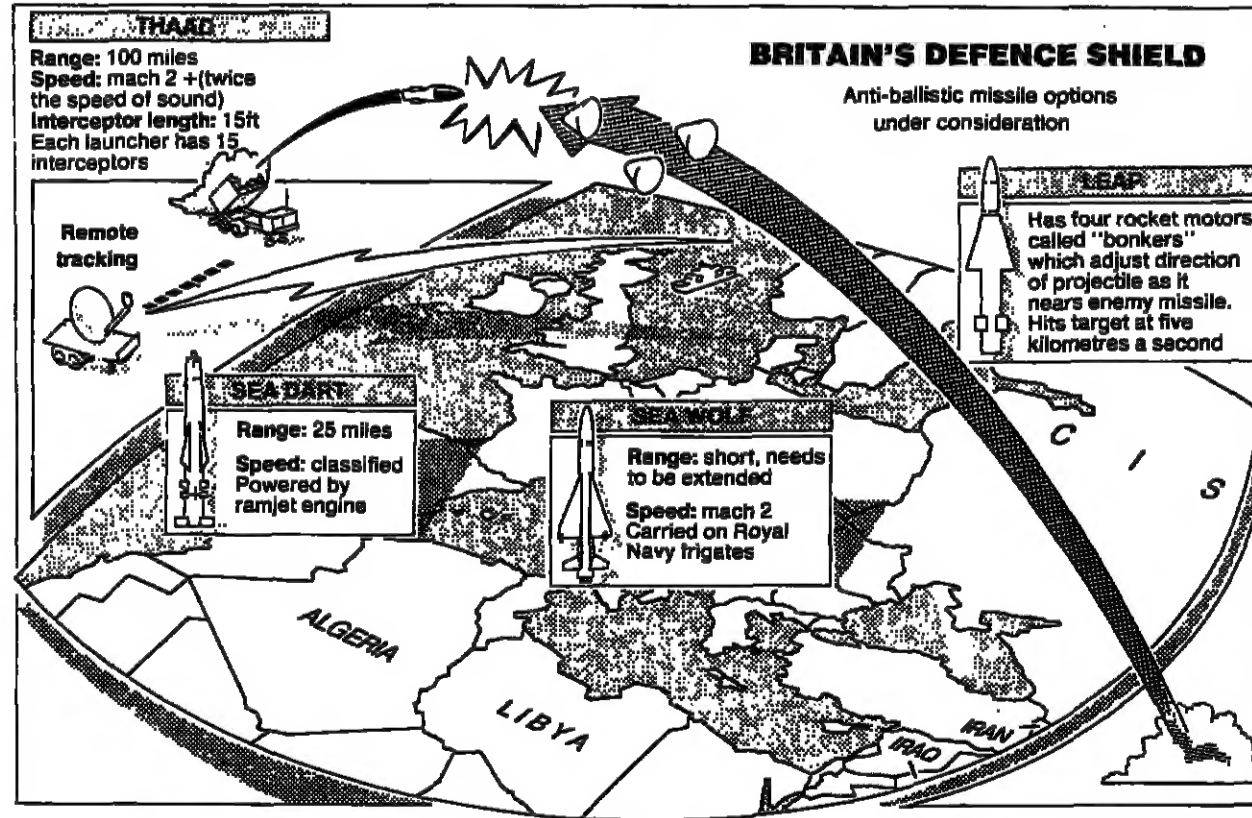
British systems likely to be studied include a stretched version of the Royal Navy's Sea Wolf vertical-launch anti-missile weapon, whose range would have to be extended to reach altitudes of at least 100 kilometres (62.5 miles), and the Sea Dart anti-aircraft

missile, which has a range of about 25 miles.

These missiles could be modified for use as rockets to launch a small US-developed guided projectile, which, with the help of on-board computers, would steer itself into the path of a ballistic missile.

The American concept, part of the SDI programme, is called LEAP, light exo-atmospheric projectile, under development by Hughes.

The other alternative would be to buy a complete weapon system from the US.



## First-time buyers bid against developers at property auctions

By RACHEL KELLY, PROPERTY CORRESPONDENT

THEY were out in force: sharp-suited and sporting mobile phones, bidding furiously at auction yesterday for property like it had never gone out of fashion. It might have been a flashback to the 1980s. "You can't afford not to buy," said one. "Prices can only go up from here," said another.

Yet these were not developers, but first-time buyers, the traditional innocents of the housing market struggling to get their first foot on the housing market ladder. One developer estimated that 75 per cent of the bidders, assembled at the Inter-Continental Hotel, in Park Lane, London, were non-professionals. In the past, auction habitués would have been developers, small builders, and large house-builders in search of plots of land.

Jonathan Satchel, representing Alington, a Hampshire property developer, said: "The public are really getting into auctions. It's spoiling it for people like me." Mr Satchel had yet to buy anything. He had been pipped at the post by a first-time buyer. They tend to be prepared to pay that few thousand extra for what will be their home.

"The real problem for developers and builders right now is that banks will not lend to us," Mr Satchel said. "First-time buyers already have their mortgage offers from the building society."

Mr Satchel was relying on the profits he already had in hand from previous property deals. He had about £100,000 to spend, and hoped to buy

three houses for £30,000 each rather than one house for £100,000. "It's how I can my living, turning property. This could be a sea auction as far as I'm concerned. It's just a commodity."

Tony Michaels, a builder from Bermondsey, east London, was buying a home, not a commodity. He bought a one-bedroom flat on the top floor of a block in Rotherhithe, southeast London, jointly with his younger brother, for £13,000. The guide price was £18,000. "It's not an incredible bargain, but it's a bargain," Mr Michaels said. "I've already got a place of my own, but my younger brother will live here." The brothers had saved £7,000 and obtained a mortgage for the rest.

Other home-buyers were elderly, hoping to buy at auction after selling their existing home. Some were practising by sitting through the auction to familiarise themselves with the procedure. Those buying were relaxed and professional in their approach, not letting themselves be intimidated by the proceedings.

There was a third group at the auction, neither first-time buyers nor traditional developers, but sharp operators cashing in on the boom in repossessed property, then contacting local authorities and letting properties to the homeless. "I'm not giving you my name. You might be the Inland Revenue," said one. But as one developer joked: "You can spot them. They are the ones with their eyes close together and dorsal fins."

## Robbery trial man disappears

A man accused of kidnapping a security guard and plotting a £250,000 robbery has disappeared halfway through his trial at the Central Criminal Court. The judge has ruled that the trial should continue in his absence.

Michael Billings, 26, of Islington, north London, was on bail and had been due in court on Monday to hear the start of the defence case. Mr Billings, his brother, Terrence, 40, and Cecil Brown, 30, all of Islington, have denied blackmail, kidnap and conspiring to rob in London last December.

Mr Justice Swinton Thomas adjourned the trial on Monday, but called the jurors back yesterday. He warned them not to draw any adverse inference against the missing man "or assume he is guilty simply because he is not here".

## Girl, 12, wins damages award

A girl aged 12 who was brain-damaged at birth was awarded £500,000 agreed damages by the High Court yesterday. The court was told that Gowri Kandiah, of East Molesey, Surrey, had cerebral palsy and would always be reliant upon her parents.

She was aware only of light and dark and had difficulty understanding sounds. Hammersmith and Fulham Health Authority denied negligence at Gowri's birth at West London Hospital in July 1980.

## Police review murder case

Kent police have sent a report to the Home Office after being ordered to look again at a murder case 12 years ago. Peter Luckhurst was jailed for life for the murder of Gwendoline Marshall, 79, who died in Pluckley when a pitchfork was stuck in her neck.

Police were ordered to review the case after a campaign by villagers, a solicitor and a private detective. The report's conclusions are not yet known.

## Body concealed

John Grindrod, 87, lay dead in his home in Fallowfield, Greater Manchester, for more than six months while Florence Rimmer, 58, continued to draw his pension, an inquest was told. She is due in court accused of deception and concealing a body.

## Charity sale



Earrings worn by Julie Good-year, above, who plays Betty Lynch in *Coronation Street*, will be among the items donated for a charity auction for a body scanner at Cheltenham hospital on November 13. Signed photographs of John Major and Baroness Thatcher will also be on sale.

## Teenager held

Four people, including a girl aged 12, were arrested after a fight with police in Lymington, Hampshire, on Monday night. Four police were hurt in the fight, which began when they tried to arrest a teenager for a public order offence.

## Cones stolen

Thieves who stole traffic cones from a contractor's system in Swindon, Wiltshire, were blamed by police for causing a lorry to crash into scaffolding. The driver was unhurt.

## Blind charge

William Plessted, a blind man aged 63, of Jarrow, Tyne and Wear, is to be sent for trial at Newcastle upon Tyne Crown Court, accused of indecently assaulting three women.

## Tongue-tied UK snubs visitors

By HARVEY ELLIOTT, TRAVEL CORRESPONDENT

THE British insistence on speaking only English is keeping foreign tourists away, according to the British Tourist Authority.

Foreign visitors are increasingly disinclined to tolerate linguistic discourtesy from monoglot shopkeepers, transport officials and traders, William Davis, the authority's chairman, said.

Mr Davis was speaking in London as he presented awards to the few companies and organisations that have taken foreign languages seriously.

"International competition for tourists is intensifying throughout the world and a Britain that is lost for words is in danger of losing a great

deal of future business," he said. "English is not the native language for more than half our tourists, so attracting visitors from non-English speaking markets is vital to the success of our tourism industry in the nineties."

A survey carried out for the authority by the Institute of Manpower Studies found that one in five of the people questioned reckoned that non-English speaking visitors accounted for more than a quarter of their turnover. Although 60 per cent had some staff capable of speaking a foreign language, 20 per cent relied solely on the ability of their overseas visitors to speak English.

Few sought out potential

staff for foreign language skills and few offered additional reward to multi-lingual staff, the survey showed.

The winners of the "Winning Words" awards included British Midland Airways, who train staff in French, German and Dutch; Lancashire County Council for producing brochures in seven languages and employing interpreters and translators; and Inverary Jail in Argyll, Strathclyde, a tourist attraction with leaflets and guide books in four languages.

The authority called for more effort to learn Japanese, Korean, Taiwanese and eastern European languages to help non-English speaking visitors from those countries.

## Race monitor urged for school exams

By RICHARD FORD, HOME CORRESPONDENT

SCHOOLS should introduce racial monitoring of examination results, pupils' choice of subjects and streaming to ensure children are treated fairly and to tackle poor results by blacks and Asians, the Commission for Racial Equality said yesterday.

Teachers should check admissions, exclusions and suspensions to ensure that their policies do not disadvantage pupils from the ethnic minorities, according to a report published by the commission.

Its study of a comprehensive school in northern England found that Asian pupils were placed in English and mathematics sets below their ability and needed to score higher marks than white children to be placed in the top sets for English.

The report said that any substantial under- or over-representation of an ethnic group in any subject must be questioned and explained, along with the ethnic composition of sets, streams or bands.

The proposals extend the existing policy, which requires local education authorities and grant-maintained schools to collect information on the ethnic origin of pupils entering school at five and 11.

The northern school, which was not named in the report,

had 1,117 pupils of whom 41 per cent were Asian. None of the 70 teachers was from an ethnic minority and at the time the report was being prepared none of the governors was black or Asian.

The study found that in their first year Asian pupils were more likely than white pupils to be placed in English and mathematics sets below their ability levels as assessed at primary school. To be placed in top sets for English, Asian pupils appeared to need higher marks than white pupils in the school's post-entry English test. It also found that Asian pupils were less likely than white pupils to take GCSE optional subjects and more likely to do the non-GCSE vocational course.

According to the study, *Set to Fail?*, the school had difficulty identifying pupils needing special support because English was their second language and had failed to draw a distinction between learning difficulties and language problems. By 1988 this had resulted in white children with learning difficulties being given help in special needs groups while Asian children who might have had similar problems were in groups for those for whom English was a second language.

## Muslim pupil sent home over beard

By RICHARD FORD, HOME CORRESPONDENT

A MUSLIM schoolboy is demanding an apology from his headmaster and compensation after being banned from lessons for several weeks for refusing to shave off his beard.

Syed Dohan, 15, was sent home from his comprehensive school after he objected to the headmaster's demand that he remove the beard, which the boy says is part of his religious and cultural tradition.

His dispute with the headmaster of George Green School in the Isle of Dogs, east London, caused protests from the local Bengali population and the local education authority chairman has rebuked

the school's governors and headmaster.

Jonathan Stokes, chairman of Tower Hamlets education committee, said that he was exasperated at the escalation of the disagreement and that the attitude of the governors suggested a lack of cultural awareness.

Syed, studying for nine GCSEs, was sent home last term. After discussions during the summer holidays he was allowed back into the school but had to remain apart from other pupils in a detention room. He claims he was allowed to leave the room only at lunchtime and lacked supervision.

Syed, who was born in Bangladesh, said yesterday: "I was kept in detention on my own for one and a half months and have only just started going to normal classes."

He had never shaved his beard because he was following the traditions of Muhammad but he did wear the school uniform of navy blue trousers, white shirt, school tie, navy blue sweater and black shoes.

By allowing Syed to return to normal classes, the school has set a precedent that will probably lead to a change in its rules.



Dohan: beard is part of religious tradition

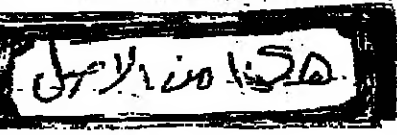
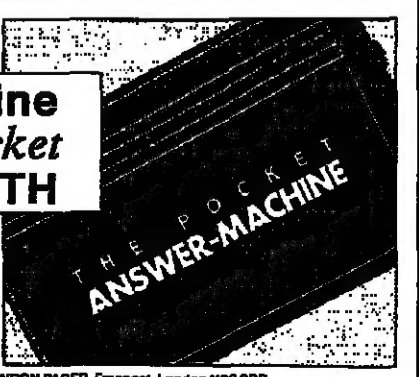
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BNFL defends radiation monitoring standards

# Cancers in Sellafield families pure coincidence, enquiry told

By MICHAEL HORSNELL

THE nuclear reprocessing plant at Sellafield is the most closely monitored environment in the United Kingdom and any connection between it and childhood cancer in West Cumbria is purely coincidental, it was claimed in the High Court yesterday in defence of the plant.

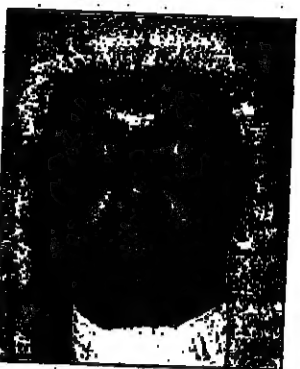
It was the second day of a case in which two families are suing British Nuclear Fuels for compensation over children's cancers resulting from alleged genetic damage to their fathers when they worked there.

Kenneth Rokison QC for the company said BNFL was not "a faceless organisation" but one which had great sympathy for the plaintiffs and their families. He denied there was a link between activities at Sellafield and local cases of leukaemia.

He also denied a claim that BNFL had a cavalier approach to information it gave out on its monitoring of radiation doses suffered by its

workforce and said that company assessments of radiation discharges could be relied upon.

In a joint damages action expected to last six months and costing £10 million, Elizabeth Reay, 62, is claiming damages over the death of her daughter Dorothy, 10 months, from leukaemia in 1962. Her damages have been agreed at £150,000, subject to liability, for the loss of her daughter and for men-



Rokison denies cavalier approach by BNFL

tal anguish suffered by Mrs Reay and her husband George, a Sellafield worker who died of cancer in 1987.

The second plaintiff is Vivien Hope, 23, whose father David, 68, was a fitter at the plant for more than 20 years. In 1968 she was diagnosed as suffering from non-Hodgkin's lymphoma, a leukaemia-related illness, which after treatment has left her disabled and sterile. Her damages, subject to liability, have been agreed with BNFL at £125,000.

Mr Rokison said BNFL was not fighting the case because it wanted to avoid its responsibilities but because it did not accept the alleged causative links between men who worked for it and the health of their offspring. "It is recognised radiation can have carcinogenic effects somatically, and because of this BNFL has established a generous compensation scheme for its employees which is designed to avoid them having to resort to legal action with the further trauma which this would involve. But in the cases before

the court the somatic doses are so low that it cannot be suggested that these alone would be sufficient to establish causation and, thus, liability," he said.

It was arguable BNFL were not responsible for the activities carried out at the plant at the time with which the cases were concerned because Windscale, as it then was called, was occupied by the United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority, a different legal entity.

But BNFL did not wish to take advantage of that technical point, he said, or of the fact that the radiation exposures of the two fathers in the cases before the court took place up to 40 years ago.

Mr Rokison added that the company had no wish to increase the suffering of the claimants in the case and for that reason had decided not to quibble over the claim for damages by the plaintiffs if the judge should rule in their favour.

The case was adjourned until today.



Tonic for the troops: trainee soldiers from 12 of the regiments represented at the Army Apprentices College near Harrogate, North Yorkshire. A record total of 15 regiments, including The Black Watch and The Royal Scots, are now training together as defence cuts mean that separate training bases are no longer viable

## Viewers 'should vote on BBC fare'

By MELINDA WITTSTOCK  
MEDIA CORRESPONDENT

LICENCE payers should be entitled to vote unpopular programmes off BBC airwaves under a proposal to make the corporation more accountable, as a publicly-funded broadcaster.

The BBC would have to win viewer approval for programme plans in a nationwide annual survey before its £1.3 billion annual income was allocated, a research paper published yesterday by the independent David Hume Institute has recommended. The scheme would not necessarily apply to specific programmes but seek to allow licence payers the right to choose how their £80 a year should be spent between different programme categories.

Robin Foster, the report's author, admitted the scheme might be difficult to run, particularly if people were divided on what sort of programmes they wanted. People might also demand a diet of soaps or other light entertainment at odds with a public service remit for the sort of innovative programmes not seen on commercial channels.

Mr Foster, a media consultant and director of the National Economic Research Associates, said, however, that the BBC would not have to be bound by the results.

The study also called for the corporation to publish service level and quality targets, backed up by performance and pay penalties for poor performance. Mr Foster said the BBC should publish data on audience reaction to its output as part of a "service contract" with the viewer.

## Nation of waiters warning by head

By MATTHEW D'ANCONA  
EDUCATION CORRESPONDENT

BRITAIN will become a nation of waiters, porters, cleaners and inventory attendants unless its educational standards are brought into line with those in other European countries, a private school head said yesterday.

Peter Owen, chairman of the Independent Schools Association Incorporated, which represents 300 schools, said that British pupils who left school early or with poor results would be seriously disadvantaged by the single European market, competing with better qualified candidates from other countries.

"Who will be the manual workers of the coming decades? Unless we act positively, it will be the children passing through British schools now," he said. British school-leavers would have to accept jobs which had once been taken avidly by the Italians, the Spanish, the Portuguese and the Poles, those whose countries were still underdeveloped.

Mr Owen, headmaster of Rushmore School, Bedford, told the association's conference in Rouen, that British schools catered superbly for the very able at the expense of "the vast mass of our children".

## The tycoon who made Mills & Boon swoon

By JOE JOSEPH

WHERE was Sir Ralph Halpern when Mills & Boon was picking Britain's most romantic top tycoon? And the Lords Hanson and White, or Sir James Goldsmith? And what about Tiny Rowland, for heaven's sake? They all lost out to Richard Gabriel, 38, a former motor cycle dispatcher.



Gabriel: romantic hero with a private jet

rider who started a delivery company which he recently sold for £50 million.

"He took me to Venice for a long weekend," Sarah Khan, his 22-year-old girlfriend, said. "He's taking me to Paris in his private jet. He sends me flowers with romantic messages." But is he like the hero

in the new Mills & Boon, *A Daring Proposition*, by Miranda Lee. "His eyes narrowed and she felt his fingers dig into her flesh before abruptly dropping his hands away. They slowly encircled her waist, where his expert fingers casually undid the buttons at the back of her corset..." "Er, not exactly," Miss Khan, a secretary from Uxbridge, said.

Mr Gabriel, nominated by Frances Walton, his personal assistant, was chosen as the most swoon-making in a field of 140 tycoons. They may also drive Bentleys and may also own £1 million mansions in Gloucestershire, but they may become all thumbs when they get to corsets.

Mr Gabriel, square-jawed and wearing a gold identity bracelet with links the size of Polo mints, thinks himself a true romantic, and feels "very flattered" by the award. His mother finds his heart throb status "absolutely hysterical".

So what did happen to Tiny Rowland? I asked his secretary why she had not nominated him. She laughed like a drain. "He'd have gone mad if I did. He's a very private person. I'm his biggest fan, but what would I have done if he'd won? He'd have killed me."

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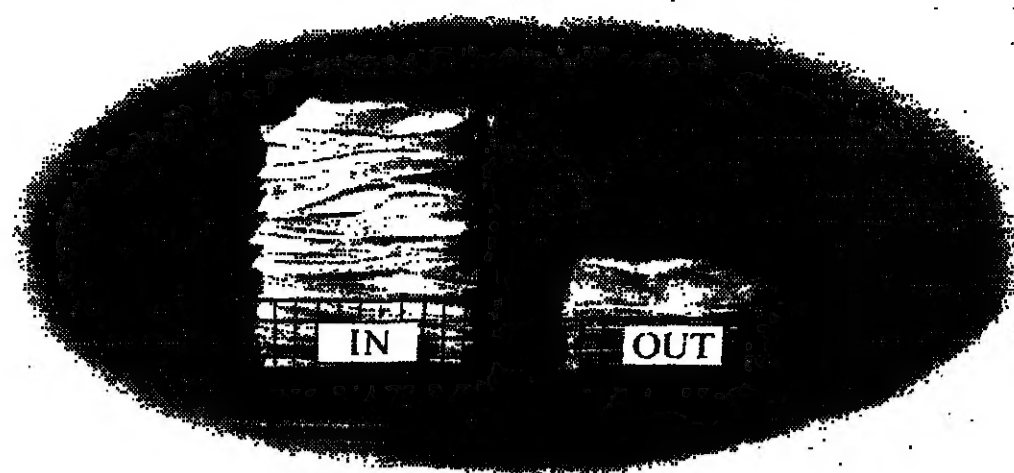
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# Perot attacked on all sides for claims of smear tactics

FROM JAMIE DETTMER IN WASHINGTON

ROSS Perot's independent challenge for the White House appeared to have struck the rocks yesterday with the billionaire coming under attack from all sides for his bizarre allegations of Republican dirty tricks. Aides of Bill Clinton, clearly relieved by the turn of events, predicted that the Texan billionaire's late surge in the election would now peter out, leaving the Democrat comfortably ahead of President Bush.

Opinion polls conducted over the weekend and published yesterday appeared to indicate that the momentum Mr Perot enjoyed after his forceful performances in the presidential debates was beginning to slow even before

the American press was uniformly critical of Mr Perot yesterday and savaged the billionaire for his unsubstantiated charges. "God knows what inner self-destructive compulsion was at work," wrote one *New York Times* columnist. *The Washington Times* headlined its front-page coverage of Mr Perot's claims, "Crazy Man or Victim?" Several newspapers said that his allegations would revive voter fears that Mr Perot lives in a world of conspiracy theories.

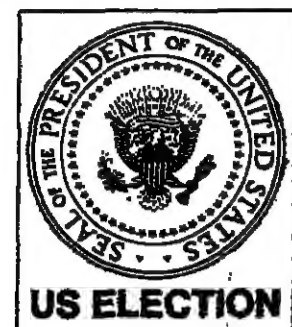
The Perot camp failed again yesterday to come up with any evidence for the allegations, which included the claim that senior Republicans had doctored a photograph to depict one of his daughters as a lesbian. Mr Perot says he now accepts Republican denials of a dirty trick campaign.

Most of Mr Perot's claims were based on information he had received from a former California policeman, Scott Barnes, a self-described private investigator. Several newspapers wrote extensively yesterday about Mr Barnes's past and pointed out that he was once convicted of illegal tapping and that he is notorious for trying to sell false information to the press.

The Bush camp, although determined to protect itself from Mr Perot's charges, is disappointed at the billionaire's self-inflicted wound. Its strategy for the last week of the campaign was built around the idea that Mr Perot would continue to make inroads into Mr Clinton's support. The dispute over the Perot allegations has also dominated the news, overshadowing Mr Bush's feisty attacks on Mr Clinton.

As the Perot camp and the Republicans continued to trade charges yesterday over the Texan's allegations that senior members of the Rep-

ublican campaign had bugged his offices in the summer and planned to disrupt his daughter's wedding, the Democrats called a halt to their attacks on Mr Perot. "You don't interrupt your opponent when he is making a fool of himself," Paul Begala, a Clinton strategist, said. Mr Bush, however, campaigning in Iowa, was quick to criticise the Texan's "crazy" charges.



US ELECTION



Private pause: Bill Clinton steps out of the limelight for a quiet moment with his wife, Hillary, before going on stage to address a campaign rally in Wilson, North Carolina.

## 'Dirty tricks' by opponent bring former American space hero down to earth

FROM MARTIN FLETCHER IN COLUMBUS, OHIO

JOHN Glenn, the first American to orbit Earth, last hero of that innocent age before the Kennedy assassinations, Vietnam and Watergate, exploded during a Monday night debate with the Republican whipper-snapper challenging for his Senate seat.

On live television he accused Mike DeWine of running "one of the dirtiest, filthiest campaigns I have ever seen." It had been a "drumbeat of lies and lies and lies," he said. "If you were Pinocchio your nose would be down to the ground."

Unruffled, the short lipping Republican retorted that Mr

Glenn was not the same person that an awestruck nation had seen blasted into space in 1962, and not the man whom Ohio had first sent to Washington 18 years ago. Turning to the senator, 71, he coolly told him: "You've been there too long."

In a sense Mr DeWine was right. Mr Glenn, who now appears in history books and has streets and schools named after him, does belong to a more genteel era. In this campaign he has for the first time encountered the real ugliness of American politics and confesses to bewilderment. Mr DeWine is a human chihuahua who has directly assaulted

America's first black woman senator, but her lead over her Republican opponent halved when it was revealed that she had failed to declare and inheritance. In California, which looks set to become the first state with two female senators, Dianne Feinstein, former mayor of San Francisco, will unseat Republican John Seymour. But a television commentator named Bruce Herschensohn, so conservative he opposes federal disaster aid, has all but eliminated Barbara Boxer's lead.

Lynn Yiakel was expected to sweep into office as Pennsylvania's new governor after his inquisition of Anita Hill during Clarence Thomas's supreme court nomination hearings, but she has blown her lead and the Republican has inched ahead.

In Washington State Patty Murray, a self-styled "mom in tennis shoes", has seen a 20 point lead over Republican Rod Chandler evaporate. In Colorado Republican Terry Cosidine has closed the gap on Ben Knightrorse Campbell, who wants to be the first native Indian senator since 1929. Republican senators Alfonse D'Amato of New York and Bobasten of Wisconsin have drawn within a few points of their challengers.

There are elections for all 435 House seats, where the Democratic majority is 100. Again the Republicans, helped by the first favourable boundary changes this century, public hostility towards incumbency and a record number of retirements, had hoped for sweeping gains but would put them within striking distance of a 1994 majority instead of the recession and Mr Bush's unpopularity mean they will be lucky to gain 15 seats. The latest poll showed 46 per cent planning to vote Democratic for Congress, 29 per cent Republican.

In Illinois Carol Moseley Braun is still set to become

### BATTLEGROUND STATES

## Recession turns the tables on Bush in land of sun and sin

BY JAMIE DETTMER

CUBAN American Democrats usually have little to celebrate at this stage in the presidential campaign. But spirits at the Democrats' office in Little Havana, Miami's Cuban district, were soaring last weekend.

Decorated with the Cuban flag and the Stars and Stripes, the small office was buzzing with people queuing to sign up as volunteers for the Clinton campaign in Florida.

"The Republicans say that if Clinton gets in, Fidel Castro will be drinking in Eighth Street," Manolo Reyes, one of

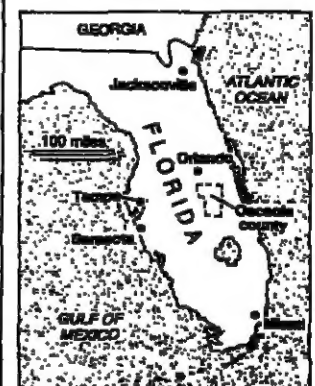
was so sure that Mr Bush did not even have to visit the Sun Belt State after July and his Democratic opponent stopped campaigning there a month before polling day. Now, Mr Bush is struggling to hold on to a state that has been described as the "most Republican in national politics", a state that has voted for the Grand Old Party in all but two presidential elections since 1952.

Surveys show Bill Clinton running neck and neck with Mr Bush. Ross Perot's presence has added to the uncertainty and the contest for Florida's 25 electoral college votes has become all but a lottery. The White House's tardy response to the damage wrought by Hurricane Andrew has not helped the president's position.

Florida's "Dixiecrats", wealthy and blue-collar pensioners from the northern states, and the Cuban exiles from Fidel Castro's rule, have made this state a Republican paradise since the 1960s. The anti-Castro feelings of the Cuban arrivals was responsible for Florida's peculiarly high pitched strain of Republicanism.

Recently, however, unemployment and recession have undermined the attractions of sun, sand, sex and sin.

Mr Clinton has fought doggedly in Florida. His message to Cuban Americans has been one of jobs and anti-Castroism. Last spring, he endorsed a congressional bill that tightens the economic screws on Cuba. Mr Bush opposed the bill until mid-summer, but signed it last weekend in Miami as part of a last-minute scramble for votes.

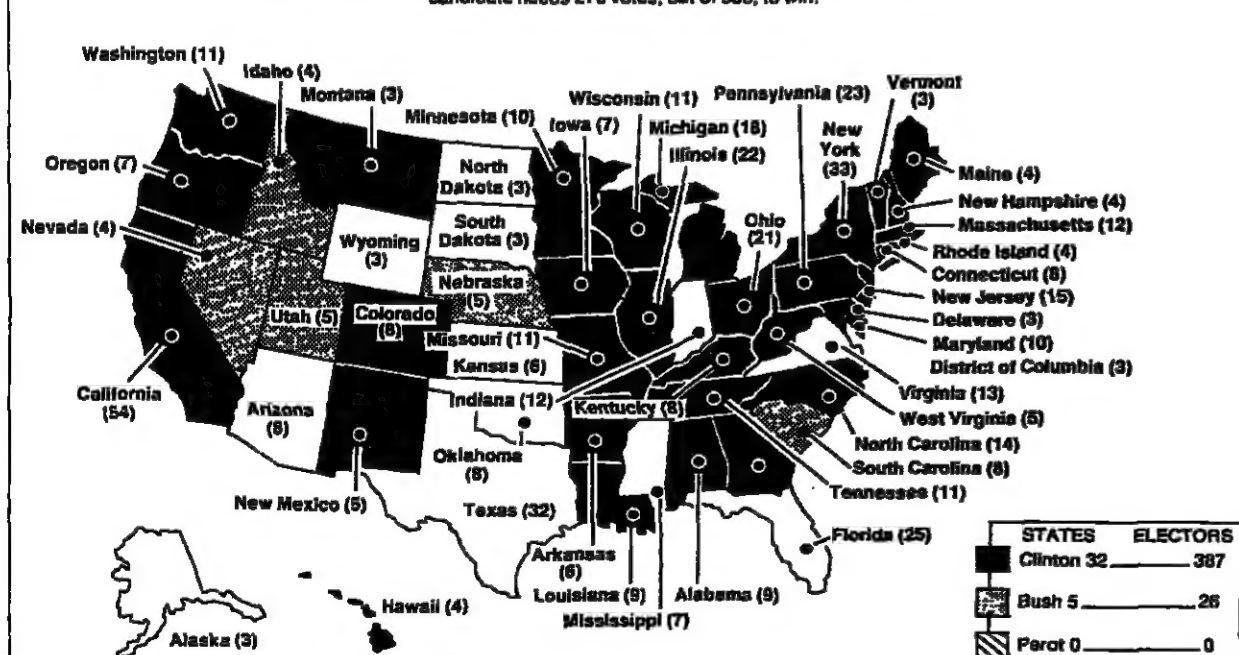


the chief co-ordinators of the Clinton effort here, said. "That kind of propaganda works before for the Republicans, but not now."

The Bush-Quayle campaign has failed to appreciate, until very belatedly, Florida's changed political mood. Complacency goes a long way to explain why the Republicans have been caught out. Four years ago, President Bush, with Ronald Reagan behind him, crushed Michael Dukakis, his Democratic rival, and took 61 per cent of the vote. In 1988, victory in Florida

### US ELECTION STATE POLLS

These are the snapshot voting intention polls for each state as of Monday 26 October. The figure in brackets is the number of electoral votes allotted to each state. A candidate needs 270 votes, out of 538, to win.



With the US "first-past-the-post" electoral system, the candidate who wins the most votes in a state wins all the electoral college votes for that state. The number of electoral college votes is the number of senators (each state has two) added to the number of Congressmen (proportional to population). Source: *Newsweek* second weekend.

## Resounding 'no' leaves Mulroney struggling to repair Canada's tattered unity

FROM BEN MACINTYRE IN MONTREAL

CANADA'S efforts to build a constitution to keep the fractious French minority within the nation were dealt a mortal blow on Monday when the Charlottetown accord, a package of reforms hammered out last August and initially endorsed by the entire political elite, was roundly rejected in a nationwide referendum.

Six of Canada's ten provinces, including French-speaking Quebec, voted against the proposed agreement, which would have recognised Quebec as "a distinct society" within the Canadian confederation while reforming the country's senate and granting the right of self-government to Canada's indigenous peoples.

Any one province voting against the accord would have made its survival highly doubtful. In the end, it was lynched. In the early hours of yesterday, a grim-faced Brian

Mulroney, the prime minister who had campaigned hard to gain acceptance of the accord, conceded defeat after the deal was rejected by 54 per cent of voters. It was accepted by only 45 per cent. "The accord is history," he said. "What remains are the real grievances and unattained aspirations of Canada."

The vote was interpreted widely as an indictment of Canada's political leadership, but Mr Mulroney and other MPs were quick to urge that the acrimonious referendum campaign now be set aside while the country tried to tackle its pressing economic problems. Mr Mulroney, who was predicting recently "the end of Canada" if the accord was rejected, appealed to what remains of Canada's tattered sense of national unity. "It is this spirit that must prevail if we are to build a strong future together," he

■ This week's decisive rejection of Canada's new constitution could spell downfall for Brian Mulroney, the prime minister, but it might also mean the end for Canada as a federal state

said. But Mr Mulroney's own future, as well as that of the Canadian confederation, has been thrown into doubt by the sheer weight of the "No" vote.

A rejection of the Charlottetown accord had long been predicted in Quebec, where the reforms were perceived as insufficient to safeguard the province's cultural and linguistic integrity. The province was the first to declare a formal result, late on Monday, with 55 per cent voting against the accord and 42 per cent in favour.

But the strength of opposition elsewhere in the country took pollsters and politicians by surprise. Nova Scotia, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and the Yukon all voted No; in British Columbia,

voters rejected the package by a margin of two to one and in Ontario, the most populous province, the result was a virtual dead heat, with the "Yes" vote ahead by only two tenths of a percentage point.

Quebec's place within Canada was the deciding factor throughout the campaign, reflecting once again the wide, and possibly unbridgeable, gulf between the English-speaking majority and French-speaking minority — a rivalry that has bedevilled the country for the past 200 years. Under the terms of the accord, Quebec would have been guaranteed a quarter of the seats in the House of Commons regardless of population changes, a concession that many English-speaking

Canadians, particularly those in the western provinces, regarded as excessive and unfair.

Astonishingly, some of Canada's politicians claimed to take heart from the widespread rejection of the accord as an indication of general agreement among Canada's voters, despite the fact that most people inside and outside Quebec had voted against the accord for diametrically opposed reasons.

Canada has now slipped back into the constitutional limbo that has become its habitual state, but while many yesterday were urging a moratorium on constitutional debate, the rejection of the Charlottetown accord has set in train a separatist momen-



Victory night: Jubilant opponents of Canada's proposed constitutional reform celebrate victory

turn in Quebec that may well prove unstoppable. Jacques Parizeau, leader of the separatist Parti Québécois and the principal force behind the "No" vote in Quebec, greeted the referendum results as a signal victory for French nationalism and said

"the only option left for Quebec was a hugely reformed federalism or complete independence. Let Canadians define their future as they want and we Québécois will define our future as we want," he said at a victory rally for the "No" vote in Montreal, adding that

Some of the angriest reactions to the vote came from the leaders of Canada's 700,000 indigenous people, who saw their "inherent right to self-government", promised in the accord, evaporate overnight.

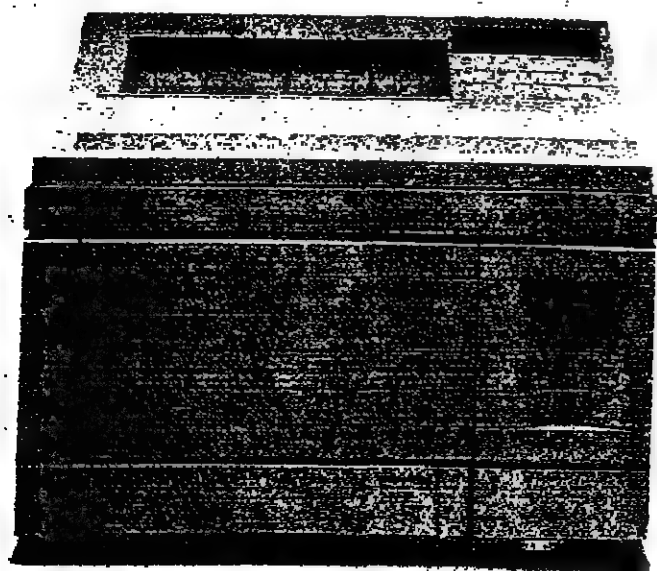


## A black and white line drawing of a party hat. The hat is a cone with a pointed top and a wide brim. It is decorated with several vertical lines radiating from the top to the brim. Below the brim, there are three stars hanging from the hat by thin lines. The stars are of different sizes and are arranged in a cluster. The entire drawing is composed of simple black outlines on a white background.

[illegible]

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# Baltic states reel as old guard takes back power in Lithuania



Brazauskas: quick to call for a coalition

FROM ANATOL LIEVEN IN VILNIUS

THE victory of the former Communists in Lithuania's elections has caused shockwaves throughout the independent Baltic states. In the capital Vilnius there are fears of a possible coup by right-wing paramilitary forces. This is one reason why Algirdas Brazauskas, despite the probability of a clear parliamentary majority for his Labour party, is being so careful to emphasise his desire for a broad coalition government.

The right wing in parliament will also be stronger than has generally been reported. While the Sajudis party of Vytautas Landsbergis won only 19 per cent of the proportional list vote, its close allies, the Christian Demo-

crats, took another 12 per cent. The Labour victory was achieved largely at the expense of the smaller centrist parties. Their demolition is now one of Mr Brazauskas' biggest problems, since it leaves him with almost nobody with whom to make a coalition. The new government is also bound to suffer strong parliamentary harassment from the right-wing opposition.

Paramilitary leaders, assiduously encouraged by Sajudis propaganda over the past two years, believe that Mr Brazauskas and his party are identical to the old Soviet Communist party and are part of a plot to take Lithuania into a Russian empire. As a Sajudis worker declared after the results: "In 1940, Moscow an-

## Fears of a right-wing coup abound. Algirdas Brazauskas, the election victor, will have to walk a political tightrope

nexed us with the help of tanks. This time, they didn't even need to do that." At a conference of radical nationalist forces last year, a commander of Saulai paramilitary volunteers said: "If Brazauskas were ever elected by the people, we would not stop him forming the government. But we would have to watch him very carefully, and if we saw that he was betraying Lithuania, we would have to act to save the nation."

As well as the unofficial Saulai, Lithuania possesses an official home guard, both of them recruited overwhelm-

ly from right-wing volunteers. The neo-fascist Young Lithuania movement also gives its members military training. The parliamentary guard, in effect a personal bodyguard of Dr Landsbergis and fanatical loyal to him, is recruited from the ultra-nationalist martial arts clubs. Its commander, Arturas Sloucas, has equipped his men with Uzzi sub-machineguns and American rocket launchers, so that they are far better armed than the embryonic Lithuanian army.

The Sajudis-dominated parliament gave these guards the



right of search and arrest. They have their own intelligence service, which works at cross purposes with a plethora of security forces and ministries. The defence ministry is regarded as the politically safest of these — too divided to play a strong role.

In Estonia, the home guard has split, with a small ultra-nationalist breakaway faction swearing allegiance to the 1938 constitution and a "government in exile". However, this move was partly a reaction against the domination of the defence ministry by former Soviet figures. Under the new right-wing Estonian government, it is hoped that discipline will rapidly be restored.

In Latvia, the home guard volunteers are playing a major role in police work. The national governments do not trust the old Russian-dominated Soviet police and, with their morale shattered, these have proved largely impotent in the face of the soaring crime rate.

The Latvian home guards are recruited largely from the ethnic Latvian countryside, and many Latvian farmers see them as their only protection against urban gangs who raid isolated farmhouses, extorting money and sometimes stealing large quantities of food. Home guard sources describe the local police as frequently in league with the gangs.

Many of the ministries have similar old guard faces, several key appointments have been given for the first time to candidates from democratic groups. In all, 11 new ministers were named.

## Yeltsin issues decree to outlaw coalition plotting his downfall

FROM ANNE McELVOY IN MOSCOW

PRESIDENT Yeltsin yesterday moved to ban the opposition National Salvation Front, a coalition of left and right-wing activists who have vowed to remove him from power, and spoke of the "terrible danger" Russia faces from forces hostile to reform.

Mr Yeltsin told a meeting of the foreign ministry's pressidium that the organisation was unconstitutional because it aimed to overthrow the capitalist system in Russia. Later he announced on television that a decree preventing the organisation's assemblies and activities would come into force immediately.

The front, a heterogeneous gathering of Russian nationalists, former communists and hardline military men, held its founding congress at the weekend and is preparing to challenge the Yeltsin administration at the Congress of People's Deputies in December in what observers fear may become a "creeping coup".

The ban is the first attempt to outlaw a political organisation in Russia since Mr Yeltsin proscribed the Communist Party after the failed coup last year. It is of dubious legality and may well lead to another protracted case in the constitutional court, similar to the one being held on the fate of the communists. But the nervous Russian leader is clearly prepared to risk future dangerous complications to diffuse the threat to his power that has grown more concerted during the past fortnight.

"Mr Yeltsin is fighting for his survival with all the force and fury we have come to expect of him," one Western diplomat said yesterday. "He thinks there is a process in motion which could lead to a swift even brutal end to reforms and he may well be right."

The Russian leader anticipated foreign criticism of the move, calling on diplomats to explain to governments abroad the threat he believes the front presents to reform. "There is a terrible danger, but in the West they do not understand this yet," he said.

The front, in confident mood after the recent decline in the popularity of radical reforms, has a leadership of 1,400 that includes conservative deputies such as Sergei Baburin, former communists such as Viktor Alksnis, a once-prominent member of the anti-perestroika Soyuz faction, army officers who supported the coup, and several Slavophile nationalists who make no secret of their sympathies for fascism. Most of the group's representatives talk of acting constitutionally to secure their aims, but several speakers at the weekend suggested they would be prepared to use force to gain power.

Colonel Stanislav Terekhov, head of the militant Officers' Union, spoke of a three-phase plan of political activity and mass protests, adding to the cheers of the other delegates: "There is a third phase. But I will not talk about that here. Preparations are being made none the less."

Other supporters wore black uniforms, berets and jackboots at Saturday's meeting. Statements such as Colonel Terekhov's give Mr Yeltsin justification for banning the organisation. In terms of his reputation in the West, which has already suffered this month from his tireless crusade of vengeance against Mikhail Gorbachev, the former Soviet president, it is likely to raise some eyebrows.

However, unappealing as banning political enemies sounds to Western sensibilities, his action is defensible. In Russia's poorly developed democracy, there is no such thing as a loyal opposition.

It is another question altogether whether his step will be effective. Ilya Konstantinov, one of the front's leaders, responded to the ban by saying: "This is a sign that Yeltsin is afraid of us."

Faced with an increasingly hostile parliament, a rouble that plunged yet again to a new low yesterday and the threat of hyperinflation this winter, Mr Yeltsin is vulnerable to attack.

Russia's parliamentary police surrounded the building of the liberal *Izvestia* newspaper yesterday in a move to implement the parliament's decision to take over the publication in defiance of Mr Yeltsin. He had tried to protect *Izvestia*, a supporter of his radical reform policies.

## Five wise men offer Bonn more gloom

FROM PATRICK MOSER IN BONN

ECONOMIC experts gave their own version yesterday of what united Germany's "moment of truth" entails: fewer jobs, higher prices and a marked economic downturn.

The semi-official government advisers, known as "the five wise men", stopped short of saying that western Germany was in a recession, although some of them had wished to include the term in the autumn report on the German economy.

Presenting the document a day after Helmut Kohl, the chancellor, had told his Christian Democratic Union that the hour of truth had arrived, the experts painted a gloomy picture of the economic state of the nation. They made clear that they believed the tax debate launched by Herr Kohl could aggravate the situation by relaxing pressure on the government to implement drastic savings measures and by sending negative signals to investors.

As the economists spoke in Bonn, there were continued grumblings among CDU members attending the party congress in Düsseldorf over Herr Kohl's announcement that he intends to raise taxes in 1995, or possibly earlier.

Theo Waigel, the finance minister and chairman of the Christian Social Union, the CDU's Bavarian allies, jumped at the opportunity to voice once more his objections to the tax plan, saying that the economists' report confirmed his views. The criticism came as a sharp blow to Herr Kohl.

who will need all the support he can muster as he tries to sell his austerity plan and the Maastricht treaty to a disgruntled nation.

The forecasts could be a further embarrassment to the chancellor, who two years ago said that nobody would be worse off after unification. However gloomy the forecasts may sound to many Germans, they are based on "positive" conditions, including the assumption that the global economy will recover and that the Bundesbank will drop its interest rates.

Even then, only a moderate recovery could be expected in the second half of next year in western Germany, the report said. The think-tank added that economic growth would be far below expectations, at 1 per cent this year and next, while inflation will ease only slightly next year from a predicted 4 per cent this year and unemployment will rise to 7.7 per cent.

German slowdown, page 23



Lingering grief: Zlatka and Obrad Cekic weeping at their daughter's grave in Sarajevo yesterday. She was killed when shells hit a bread queue in May

## Bosnia mediators call for power-sharing solution

BY MICHAEL BINYON, DIPLOMATIC EDITOR

AS SERB forces yesterday intensified their onslaught on Jajce, a Muslim town north of Sarajevo, international mediators proposed a new constitution for Bosnia-Herzegovina. The proposed constitution would give greater autonomy to regional governments but reject Serbian and Croat demands for their own ethnic entities in Bosnia.

Under a plan put forward by Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, the United Nations and European Community negotiators, a central government in Bosnia would share power with up to ten regional or provincial governments. They would have considerable autonomy but would not have the legal personality of national states.

A UN spokesman said the plan provided a framework to preserve Bosnia's sovereignty

as a nation without a carve-up into ethnically based entities. The plan provides for a ceremonial presidency and a prime minister whose cabinet would be based on ethnic balance. There would be a constitutional court and a human rights court that would have five foreign judges, while ombudsmen from all groups would work for the reversal of "ethnic cleansing".

The scheme will be released today after presentation to the UN Security Council: it is likely to meet strong opposition from the Serbs who have proclaimed their own Serb republic in the territory they hold.

Mr Vance and Lord Owen will begin visits to Belgrade and Zagreb today to promote their proposals. Britain welcomed the plan yesterday as a

"beginning of a process" and called on all sides to co-operate with the mediators.

Fighting raged around Jajce, with Sarajevo radio accusing Serb forces of launching mine air raids in defiance of the UN ban and bringing in reinforcements by helicopter at night from Banja Luka.

The radio said that scores of people had been killed in hand-to-hand fighting and more than 100 wounded. Muslim defenders were reported to be retreating towards Travnik where Muslims and Croats have been fighting recently.

Mortar bombs hit a residential area in Sarajevo near the UN headquarters, killing three people. The fighting in Bosnia delayed the departure of an aid convoy of 19 lorries due to set out overland from Belgrade, the Serbian capital.

## Morale high as troops sail in

FROM ADAM LEBOWITZ ON BOARD THE SIR BEDIVERE

SPECTACULAR mountains and valleys of the Croatian coastline stretched out before us, offering a rugged welcome to the *Sir Bedivere* as it cruised into harbour. The azure sea was calm, the port of Split, the ship's home for the next few months, nestled peacefully under the rocky peaks.

Orders echoed around the ship as more than 80 British troops prepared for landing. The arrival of the ship, as part of the United Nations mission to escort aid convoys through Bosnia-Herzegovina, marks the start in earnest of Britain's military presence in former Yugoslavia.

The Croatian flag, flown as a courtesy, fluttered in the breeze as the *Sir Bedivere* passed alongside the Spanish navy ship, *Castilla*. The Spanish troops, also wearing blue UN berets, waved in greeting. The *Castilla* bristled with heavy calibre guns, but the British UN contingent was taking a less belligerent approach.

The troops are drawn from a range of regiments: signalers, engineers, Ordnance Corps, and military police. As well as the 25 Land-Rovers and hundreds of tents on board, the ship is carrying a complete field hospital, including a surgical unit for any casualties.

Morale is high, the atmosphere purposeful and determined. But the soldiers know that beyond the mountains a multitude of hazards awaits them: in Bosnia's bandit country, the *Sir Bedivere* has been bloodied. A photograph behind the ship's bar tells of an Argentine air attack in the Falklands.

"We have all been briefed on the situation in ex-Yugoslavia, but it is so mixed up it can change at any time," Alex Parker, first officer supply, said. "We know the UN protection force is not popular here and you have to be on your guard all the time," he added.

Officers admit that if there are casualties, morale will suffer. "One joins the army and expects to be in situations like this," Major John Clasper, of the RAMC, said. "If troops are injured, morale will go down, but if they achieve their objective, it will go up again."

## Optimism grows over Gatt deal

Luxembourg: Ray MacSharry, the European farm commissioner, said yesterday that negotiations to find a General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade deal were continuing and he expected to meet Edward Madigan, the US agriculture secretary, again. He said he had just received a telephone call from Mr Madigan and was returning to Brussels to settle arrangements for a meeting.

John Gummer, the British agriculture minister, who had chaired a farm ministers' meeting, said that talks with America could start at once. "There will be new meetings, and I think they will probably begin immediately," Mr Gummer said. (Reuters)

## Six shot dead

Sydney: Six people were shot dead and one person was injured when a gunman went on a shooting rampage in Terrigal, Wyong and Batemans Bay, north of Sydney. He surrendered to the police later.

## Baby killed

Corona, California: Alicia Gillespie, 23, whose drug-tainted breast milk killed her month-old daughter was jailed here for six years. Her baby, Hannah, died from methamphetamine, a drug abused by her mother. (AP)

## Workers strike

Brussels: Police closed roads in the city for the state-organised strike Sabena at Brussels national airport, fearing trouble from 200 striking workers. They are protesting against the lay-off of 250 Sabena employees. (Reuters)

## ANC attack

Johannesburg: Reggie Madihe, a member of the African National Congress national executive, was shot in a Natal ambush. The police would not confirm the ANC's claim that he was killed. (Reuters)

## Mothers die

Delhi: Unsafe abortions lead to the deaths of 200,000 women each year, an International Planned Parenthood Federation congress here was told. (Reuters)

## Clam claim

Copenhagen: A North American clam, found in Denmark and deposited there before 1295, has provided new support for the view that Vikings were the first Europeans to reach America. (AP)

## 'Fin de regime' malaise grips France

FROM CHARLES BRENNER IN PARIS

Anyone making a film of the fall from favour of France's governing Socialist party, need not look far for dramatic images in this pre-election season. The would-be film-maker could start with the Paris court where Odile Miroir, 25, is on trial with three railway workers for the manslaughter of 56 people in a train disaster in the Gare de Lyon in 1988.

For reasons deemed frivolous, Mme Miroir, a passenger, pulled the emergency cord, setting off a chain of mishaps that resulted in a collision at the terminus. The apparent injustice of her prosecution, and the absence of railway executives from the dock, is being cast as another symptom of the failure of France's government to take responsibility for mismanagement.

More focused charges are being levelled at President Mitterrand and his 11-year-old administration after last Friday's jail sentences against

senior health administrators, including the top civil servant in the health ministry, for allowing the distribution of HIV-contaminated blood, a scandal for which no politicians have been called to account.

All this is adding to a feeling that France is heading for institutional crisis. At the core of the anxiety is the looming clash between a president determined to cling to office and the opposition majority, which is almost certain to be voted into power in parliamentary elections in March.

The two main opposition groupings in effect launched their campaigns this week, bringing a census vote in which they charged the Socialists with "moral and political dereliction" and policies which have brought "economic slump, the degradation of the public spirit, the loss of common purpose and disdain for parliamentary democracy". In the event, after Pierre Bérégovoy, the prime minis-

ter, gave a warning of the dangers of denatocracy, his minority government scraped through.

Over the past week, both government and opposition have laid down their lines of battle. M Mitterrand, who turned 76 on Monday, has made it known that he aims to stick it out to the end of his term in 1995 even if the party he founded and led to power in 1981 is defeated in the election.

After the Maastricht referendum, which revealed that the party had been deserted by its most loyal voters, the experts have been predicting a loss of half its seats. And, over the past week, the party has seemed intent on suicide, with infighting between the parliament and its ministers and even a prediction from one Socialist minister that the party is doomed to defeat.

The opposition leaders, Jacques Chirac and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, say they

will not repeat their two-year collaboration government under M Mitterrand in the mid 1980s. M Giscard d'Estaing, who is determined to regain the throne M Mitterrand took from him in 1981, says the president must either resign or drop into the background.

But M Mitterrand is making clear that he will never accept a retreat to the ceremonial role in which pre-1958 heads of state spent their time "inaugurating chrysanthemums", as de Gaulle put it. Matters were not improved when Laurent Fabius, the Socialist party leader, yesterday delivered a candid portrait of his country after the Mitterrand decade. "I am struck by the fear I see everywhere," he said. "The fear about economic upheaval... unemployment... Aids, drugs, violence, the 'lost' young, ideology in streets, our points of reference destroyed." The opposition could not have put it better.

## Spanish leader's ten-year reign is soured by economic woes

FROM EDWARD OWEN IN MADRID

IT IS a bitter-sweet anniversary, but Felipe González is assured a prominent place in the history books as today he celebrates ten years in power as Socialist prime minister of Spain. He is considered the most capable democratic Spanish leader this century, redressing the balance between the military, the church and nationalistic regions, increasing prosperity and setting Spain's international course on an even keel.

However, next year Señor González, 50, faces his toughest election battle yet. There are accusations that he has lost control of his corrupt party, the unions are calling him a traitor, his dream of a united Europe is fading and Spain's economy is collapsing.

A recent poll shows that 56 per cent of Spaniards favour him as leader, and he is respected for his fervent support of the European Com-

munity, but Señor González now desperately needs to concentrate on retaining his majority at home, as well as pushing second division Spain into first division Europe.

A decade ago his Partido Socialista Obrero Español



González facing tough election battle next year

(PSOE) won a landslide victory, but in two subsequent elections, PSOE's support slid to today's all-time low of 37 per cent, with the People's Party, the conservative opposition, only five points behind.

To PSOE's credit, for several years the gross domestic product exceeded the average in the Community, which Spain joined in 1986. Inflation fell from 14.4 per cent to 6 per cent. Foreign investment increased tenfold, 1,875 miles of motorways and a high-speed train were built, 3.75 million tax dodgers were caught, pensions and health care cover were increased and terrorism declined.

Analysts now doubt that Spain will achieve its Maastricht convergence plan with a soaring public deficit, increasing inflation, and the highest unemployment figure in Europe, at 17.7 per cent.

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## Rabin vows to continue peace talks despite pressure from the right

# Israelis ring south Lebanon with fire

FROM ALI JASER IN SIDON AND RICHARD BRESTON IN JERUSALEM

A BELT of fire and armour surrounded south Lebanon yesterday as Israel realized with air and artillery fire for the second consecutive day against an attack that killed five soldiers two days ago.

Lebanese police inside the security zone confirmed that about 900 Israeli troops backed by tanks and armoured personnel carriers moved within striking distance of Shia villages to the north.

Earlier, Israeli warplanes went into action attacking bases in Lebanon's Bekaa Valley belonging to the pro-Iranian fundamentalist group Hezbollah. One woman was killed and two guerrillas were wounded according to Palestinian sources. Hezbollah was responsible for killing the soldiers on Sunday and the death yesterday of an Israeli youth in a rocket attack on the town of Kiryat Shmona. Elsewhere, three Israeli civilians were injured in two separate incidents in the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

**The stakes are high. An Israeli incursion beyond the security zone could ignite more serious conflict**



In Jerusalem yesterday, Yitzhak Rabin, the Israeli prime minister, struggled to restore calm to Israel, Lebanon and the occupied territories after a third day of violence, which claimed the life of a young Russian immi-

grant. Amid a growing public clamour by right-wingers urging the government to pull out of the talks in Washington, Mr Rabin vowed to defuse the tense situation and continue dialogue with the Arabs.

"We will continue the negotiations with Syria with the Palestinians, the Jordanians and Lebanese regardless of what happens in the (occupied) territories or in southern Lebanon," Mr Rabin said.

In spite of the arrival of Israeli armoured reinforcements near the Lebanese border, however, there was no sign that the Israelis were planning to escalate the confrontation by committing ground forces north of their self-declared security zone unless they were provoked.

"What we face now is two Khomeinist groups; the Hezbollah on one hand and the Hamas, a Palestinian fundamentalist movement, on the other hand," said the Israeli leader, referring to two of Israel's most ardent Muslim militant foes. "They accelerated their violence with the purpose to bring about the collapse of the negotiations. I am not going to play into their hands. We will continue the negotiations and cope with the violence that they created."

However, his attempts at restoring some sort of "calm" to the tense border area failed to satisfy opposition figures. Yitzhak Shamir, the former Likud prime minister, blamed the government for the current wave of violence, and Rafael Eitan, the leader of the small right-wing Tsomet party and former chief of staff, demanded that the government pull out of the talks immediately.

What incensed many Israelis were the comments by Mowaffaq Allat, head of the Syrian delegation to the talks with Israel, whose government is accused of indirectly supporting Hezbollah and who defended the organization's recent actions as legitimate resistance against Israeli occupying forces.

Mr Rabin, 70, won an impressive electoral victory



Peace plea: as his warplanes attacked Palestinian positions in Lebanon, Yitzhak Rabin was vowing to defuse the tension and continue dialogue with the Arabs

this summer at the head of the Labour Party, which promised to bring fresh impetus to the stalled Middle East peace talks that began a year ago. Yesterday, however, after three months in office he admitted that the task of overcoming four decades of "hatred and suspicion" would take time and that "whoever seeks love in international relations turns to the wrong address".

In particular, he bemoaned the rejection by Palestinians of his offer to allow the 1.8 million Arab inhabitants of the occupied territories to hold elections this spring for an administrative council. He also ruled out any speedy resolution to the dispute with Syria over the Golan Heights. "I don't expect rapid changes in position it takes time, it is the Middle Eastern bazaar," he said.

Although he refused to discuss the outcome of the American presidential elections next

week, he warned that a change of administration in Washington, co-sponsor of the peace talks, could delay progress at the negotiating table by months.

"If there is a change to Clinton there will be an interim of over two months and I don't know what will happen," said Mr Rabin, who has enjoyed close links to the Republican Party. "It can bring a prolongation of the negotiations."

## Peking will 'fight to finish' over Patten reform plan

FROM CATHERINE SAMPSON IN PEKING

LU PING, Peking's top negotiator on Hong Kong, has warned Chris Patten that if he goes it alone on democracy in the territory, China will fight him all the way and is prepared to break all the rules.

"The Chinese side has already decided to fight to the finish... If you do not play by the rules, we will not play by the rules, and then we will see what the outcome is," Mr Lu was quoted as saying in the Peking-backed *Wen Wei Po*, a newspaper published in Hong Kong.

Mr Lu accused Mr Patten of breaking the rules in the joint declaration, the 1984 agreement between Britain and China on the handover of Hong Kong. He also said that Mr Patten had violated a secret agreement that there would be no further democratisation in Hong Kong.

He demanded that the correspondence between Britain and China on the subject of the 1995 elections should be published, alleging that in the letters Britain agreed not to extend democracy in Hong Kong. Mr Patten has already said that he has no objections to the publication of the correspondence, which he says does not constitute a commitment not to extend democracy.

China is intensifying the pressure on Mr Patten after the first attempt to bully him into submission last week failed. Mr Lu first attacked Mr Patten when the governor left Peking last week after two days of talks that left the two sides in stalemate on the issue of democracy.

According to *Wen Wei Po*, Mr Lu said that if Mr Patten went ahead with his proposals, he would cause "great turmoil". China, he said, would do nothing to stir up trouble in the territory, and would not do anything "against the interests of the people".

The same phrase was used to justify the crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrations in 1989. Mr Lu also appeared to be threatening an end to talks, saying that if Mr Patten was not willing to talk about conver-

gence of the pre-1997 and post-1997 political systems, "then there is nothing to talk about". If Mr Patten faces such threats with his usual equanimity, he may still find worrying Mr Lu's ominous reference to the possibility of worse to come. "We use reason before force; first we use words," Mr Lu said.

Mr Patten said last week that during his visit to Peking he was treated with "unfailing courtesy". When he was safely back in Hong Kong, however, Mr Lu was scathing about the governor's proposals to democratise elections to Hong Kong's legislature in 1995. "How does this Conservative party chairman not distinguish even between direct and indirect elections?"

## Sumo idol to marry sex symbol

FROM AP IN TOKYO

JAPAN'S best loved sports hero Takahanada, 20, a sumo wrestler wonder, confirmed yesterday plans to wed the nation's sex symbol, Rie Miyazawa, 19, an actress whose collection of nude photos scandalised the country. The news sent the nation into giddy excitement.

Miss Miyazawa told reporters that Takahanada, whose real name is Koji Hanada, had proposed by telephone, saying simply: "Let's get married."

The wrestler has become a male idol with a combination of good looks and skill that has put him among the top handful in Japan's national sport. The two are expected to marry next April.

Speaking of Takahanada last month, Miss Miyazawa said: "When I look at the sumo ring, I get that pitter-patter in my heart."

## Afghan fears grow as president goes

BY CHRISTOPHER THOMAS

AFTER four months in power, Afghanistan's President Rabbani is to step down today under an agreement among rival Mujahidin groups.

Power will pass to the leadership council, an uneasy alliance of ten rebel factions, which is expected to name another temporary president. The procedure is in effect keeping Afghanistan leaderless and ungoverned. There is no bureaucracy, no money, and precious little food.

Six months after ending power from the Moscow-

backed regime of Dr Najibullah, the Mujahidin have been unable to put even a semblance of government in place in Kabul. There are growing fears in the region that the country is irretrievably dividing on ethnic lines.

All the rebel groups intend to meet soon in a "grand assembly" to try to agree on the nature and timing of elections, but that may be a fanciful idea in a country run by the gun. Pakistan, among others, is watching developments with alarm, fearing for its own stability.

Mr Rabin, 70, won an impressive electoral victory

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White South African rugby administrators promised to level the playing field for all players. David Miller reports on the consequences of their failure.

# Game is up for the Boks

The withdrawal of sympathy, and formal support, from the current South African rugby union tour of France and England by the South African National Olympic Sports Congress (Nosc) is neither peevish nor pedantic. The action taken by Nosc, and backed by the African National Congress (ANC), is a reluctant yet predictable response to an absence of goodwill by the still substantially white-backed South African governing body of rugby, Saru.

The old white rugby power base, for so long an emotional platform of Afrikaner nationalism, has regarded the readmission to the international arena as too little a signal to a changed, racially-integrated future, too much a mere pardon for the past and for the continuation of intellectual insularity.

The tour has been seized as an escape hatch for a return to former sporting triumphalism, rather than an opportunity to meet the need for a reassessment and new relationships. Some anti-apartheid organisations in Britain, Scandinavia and elsewhere will regard the statements by Nosc as a green light for fresh demonstrations against Afrikanerdom, with the prospect of serious disorder at South Africa's forthcoming matches

at Leicester, Bristol, Leeds and Twickenham: the first visit to England for 22 years.

The Rugby Football Union (RFU), for so long a mute appeaser for apartheid's evils — and thereby provocatively damaging in the past to Britain's other international sporting relationships — is understandably worried that rugby may again be cast as the black sheep, instead of creating a bridge towards professed brotherhood. It is worried with good reason.

The irony is that anti-apartheid protagonists in London remain militant in their ideology; more so than many black South African liberals who bear the responsibility of trying to reach a harmonious relationship in their volatile mixed-race society. By talking of disruption, the British protesters are in the long run likely to do more harm than help to the well-being of South Africa.

The time arrived two years ago when black Africa realised that what South Africa needed was social fire-fighters much more than supplies of fuel for a fire that threatened absolute destruction. No one realised this more than Mhlekzi George, president of Nosc and initiator of this week's controversy.

Mr George, a former political prisoner on Robben Island, is fundamentally a

healer, not a destroyer. He is not a bitter man, his most surprising characteristic being moderation in spite of having a neck permanently disfigured by police "correction".

It was Mr George, in conjunction with Steve Tshwete, the sports negotiator for ANC, who led the move towards South African readmission to the international arena, to the astonishment of anti-apartheid leaders, including those at the United Nations. Mr George and Mr Tshwete convinced their ideological associates that South Africa had to return, or be left bankrupt in sport by the time one-man-one-vote was eventually achieved.

Yet Saru cannot say it was not warned. When a delegation of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) visited Johannesburg and Cape Town last March to confirm details of South Africa's participation in the Olympic Games at Barcelona, Mr George stated that rugby must step in line with other integrated national governing bodies and create development programmes for non-white competitors.

He said: "Unless this is initiated, we shall stop the proposed New Zealand tour [in August] and others. Rugby is always telling us they need tours to generate money, but



Not satisfied: demonstrators display placards protesting against the arrival in South Africa of the Australian touring team in August

we've heard that too often. The former South African Rugby Board has plenty of money, but neither they nor Saru are doing anything for development. Coaching is still predominantly for white children."

It is apparent, despite protests yesterday by Saru, that

white South African rugby has grabbed the carrot of renewed tours and the prospect of hosting the 1995 World Cup, and ignored the stick. Rugby development programmes are apparently still conspicuous by their absence, even though the visiting Australian tour party in August gave coaching clinics at some townships.

The newly-created South African National Olympic Committee (Sanoc), together with Nosc and with the approval of Nelson Mandela, has been prepared to accept an imbalance in the black-white proportional composition of some national teams, selected on current merits, in the interest of progress.

But rugby, under the allegedly multi-racial Saru administration and the white flag of neutrality, has not thrown away the old Broederbond insignia: the Springbok emblem, and the white national anthem *Die Stem*, which was sung before the match against New Zealand in August to international consternation. Mr George and the ANC suspect they have been double-crossed.

That sense of betrayal has been magnified by the official statement of Saru, devoid of

regret, claiming only that it is Nosc which has broken its word; that Saru is not interested in "cosmetic development programmes".

These were the words not of a progressive multi-racial governing body but of entrenched reactionary defensiveness. It is insufficient for white rugby apologists to claim that rugby is not like soccer, a national game for blacks, a popular theme among rightist British sympathisers who whistle the old tune of politics-have-no-place-in-sport. Playing rugby is also a matter of opportunity, or rather its absence, among South Africa's black majority.

British, so progressive in some of its administration in former colonial times, has for long been sadly immune to black South African sporting interests.

The RFU was yesterday

cautiously hedging its bets, reluctant to take up any ideological position.

Hinge swivels have been made by South African sport this year at the Olympic Games, in Test cricket against the West Indies and now India, and in international athletics and football. It is an unfortunate coincidence that the latest crisis should occur on a visit to England, which, in this instance, is without blame.

General Zia Qadir, the IOC member for Sudan, in England to inspect Manchester's bid to host the Olympic Games said yesterday: "Rugby is in a different position from other sports in South Africa. They needed to make some demonstration of goodwill by bringing a few blacks in their party. In other sports, Africa has not minded white South African international representatives, but this is something different."

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INTERCITY

## Memories of mayhem

As contingency plans were being hurriedly drawn up by anti-apartheid protesters yesterday, memories were inevitably revived of the mayhem and bitterness that surrounded — and at times almost swamped — the last Springbok tour of Britain, during the winter of 1969-70.

By recent standards, many of the schemes planned and executed by Peter Hain and his Stop-the-70-Tour committee seem more like good-natured schoolboy pranks than serious statements of militant outrage. They poured liquid lead into the keyholes of the tourists' bedrooms, doors to stop them emerging on match days and let down the team coach tyres.

Yet Mr Hain, now Labour MP for Neath who was then a national executive member of the Young Liberals, recalls how the protests mounted at all 25 matches on the tour not only made him "public enemy number one" but proved to be "the turning-point in the whole question of South Africa's sporting relations with the rest of the world".

The number of spectators who watched the visitors' grand finale against the Barbarians at Twickenham had to be reduced by 25,000 and the whole North Stand closed to combat a big demonstration, but the tour was completed.

So did the campaign fail? "Not at all," Mr Hain says. "The tour in our title was always intended to refer to the proposed 1970 South African cricket tour, which was duly

cancelled. In fact, no South Africa national side in any sport has come to Britain since that rugby tour in 1969-70.

"On the eve of the tour, David Davies, the main in charge of all South African rugby, said that no black player would ever play in his side immediately after getting home, he recognised that these were going to have to be changes — although it took a long time for them to happen. "Certainly we did get up to things like blocking the bus,

although on the day of the Twickenham game, and the other dates are also looked up, but I will be with the protesters in spirit," he says.

"There is no settlement of differences and the 1992 tour does proceed without the sanction of the National Olympic Sports Congress in South Africa. We would the demonstration organisers have anything to learn from the initiatives taken by the Stop-the-70-Tour committee? "No, I don't think so," Mr Hain says. "The situation



Peter Hain is removed from Twickenham during the 1969-70 tour

room keyholes, someone chaining himself to the team coach and a woman infiltrating herself as a kind of latter-day Mata Hari but many of the protests were extremely disruptive and proved to be the key motive force in changing conditions within South Africa. Afterwards even members of the white minority recognised that the game was up."

This year's tour, with fixtures at Leicester, Bristol, Leeds and Twickenham, is due to begin next week and end on November 14. Mr Hain said yesterday that he would not be present at any of the matches. "I have an engagement in my Neath constituency," he said.

Meanwhile the Anti-Apartheid Movement is making plans for protests at the four grounds: "We will certainly be organising some kind of march on Twickenham but we cannot reveal any details until we have met with police officials there tomorrow," Claire McMaster, campaign organiser, said yesterday.

WILLIAM GREAVES



The leaping springbok has been a symbol of the South African national rugby team, since 1903 when the side felt underprivileged beside a touring English team with their Lions and Union Jacks.

When Paul Roos brought the first South African side to England in 1906 the emblem was embroidered on their green and gold jerseys (derived from the old boys' colours of Bishops Diocesan School in the Cape, where rugby was first played in the country). The press dubbed the team the Springboks and they have been called that ever since.

Virtually all other South African representa-

tive teams have been called Springboks since then, though since the Rugby Board was smart enough to copyright the leaping version, the other teams have had to make do with a springbok.

Since 1992 and not officially begin until the National Party came to power in 1948, the Springbok badge can be said to have predated the badge of the SA Rugby Union, was the protea, the flower emblem of the country, flanked by springbok heads. When apartheid in the sport was officially abandoned this year the joint SA Rugby Football Union adopted the leaping springbok and the protea as its symbol.

MICHAEL HAMLYN



# With ideas to suit their office

Behind every great operator is a big office, and a bit of redecorating, says Rosie Millard

Robert Maxwell had a helicopter pad above his; the Commons has just spent £60,000 on new curtains for theirs, and the grand sum of £3 million is to be spent on renovating the House of Lords building that will contain Baroness Thatcher's. Many executives, it seems, find it impossible to operate without a large and splendid office; executive suites, more than cars, spouses or even pay-packets have today become the physical symbols of professional clout.

Offices, as any employee knows, signify power. They express the outward aspirations of the incumbent: places for hiring and firing, they are rooms which, more than anywhere else, enable behaviour on one's own terms.

The critical thing to do when moving into a new office is to redecorate it as importantly as you can, and as soon as possible. Mini-bars, bathrooms, pop-up projection

'Why have an ordinary desk when you can have Winston Churchill's?'

screens, huge conference tables: the executive position is today surrounded by often useless paraphernalia which does little more than simply reflect her, or more often his, standing in the company hierarchy.

Offices have not always carried this weight. A showcase in the Design Museum reveals that offices only came into their own at the turn of the century, when the introduction of the telegraph, telephone and typewriter meant the office became simply a "clearing house" for information organised on a purely practical scale, they resembled industrial plants more than power bases. Yet as Michael Korda, the author of *Power: How to Use It and How to Get It*, points out, it was not long until megalomania spread to the arrangement of the simple desk and chair. "Fantasy offices project power," Mr Korda says. "Look at Hitler's office. It was vast. Mussolini's office required a walk of a hundred yards across a marble floor just to get to the desk."

In the 1930s, the head of MGM actually arranged his desk on a plinth; gazing up at it, the visitor would be confronted with an illuminated display of MGM's Oscars.

The other key element is individuality. If the boss has an ordinary office furniture in a fairly normal-looking room, you know he or she is not really in the running as far as the power stakes go. "Anyone can have chrome-topped tables or Bauhaus chairs these days," Mr Korda says. "It comes with the deal. People who are truly powerful have their office designed to



Orderly scene a hundred yards from the door: Mussolini's study at the Palazzo Venezia in Rome. Visitors, not the dictator, needed to know the time



Margaret Thatcher in 10 Downing Street: she will be one of the few peers with an office of their own

"make it clear they don't have to accept regular furniture." And so behind the door of the true power-broker you will find the Chippendale chairs, Grinling Gibbons panelling and "real" curtains surrounding authentic sash windows. As Mr Korda puts it: "Why have an ordinary desk when you can have Winston Churchill's?"

"My boss has an outer office, and an inner 'study' where all his important meetings take place," says Madeline Bell, who works at a London merchant bank. "The outer office is fairly normal, but his study is very daunting. It's all panelling with wood and Old English brass fittings, with high-backed chairs, a huge desk and a phone that looks like something out of *Star Trek*. When you're asked in to the study, you know it's for one of two reasons — a rise, or the sack. It gives him added authority for any meeting."

The office of a powerful person represents illusions of grandeur in a style they would like to live in," Mr Korda says. "Particularly with men; you find they indulge in the Dutch masters, or ship models of the 18th century that they would never get away with at home." Apparently, antiques, not the latest high-technology, are what is important for the company bigwig. It gives two critical messages: that the incumbent did not arrive yesterday, and that he or she is not about to go tomorrow. In these financially unsure times, an image of continuity is vital, according to Edward Cory, the chairman of the furniture makers Gordon Russell.

Building is maintained for the person at the top. "A happy coincidence," insists Gareth Jones, the editor of *This Morning*. "It was just the way the cookie crumbled. I have no prestigiousness in my office apart from a bottle of claret in the filing cabinet."

The only place in the West where fantastical offices are not encouraged is in the home of fantasy itself, Hollywood. "Somehow, huge offices don't look right in California when you look out of the window into a bunch of palm trees," Mr Korda says. Lady Thatcher, whose new office

necessitated a shift of personnel (she is one of the few peers to have an office of her own), did ask for a suite of offices but the House of Lords, where shortage of office space is an even bigger problem than in the Commons, was unable to meet her request. It remains to be seen how her office will be redecorated but Mr Korda is convinced we will see the incarnation of an image of power. "Mrs T won't want it to look like a grocer's shop. My guess is that she'll go for an early 19th-century English office. Kind of place the Duke of Wellington might have had."

## In praise of womanwatching

I am always irritated when someone attacks glossy magazines as the malign promulgators of female vanity and all its attendant psychological ills. Both old-school feminists and male woman-haters simplistically believe that the many matters of appearance that absorb women are some sort of silly and dangerous false consciousness forced upon us by too much looking at magazines.

In fact, fashion and beauty magazines are only the tip of the iceberg of a submerged female culture that exists throughout Western societies. Women themselves, not the magazines, are the most acute and effective adjudicators upon each others' looks. With or without reference to magazines, we are the real enforcers of standards of beauty, fashion and fitness among our peers and colleagues, and even up and down the generations within the family.

Every woman also knows that dressing to pass muster with women friends is far more subtle, demanding and rewarding than dressing to please a man — easy by comparison.

Which of us can deny the running commentary that plays in our minds when we greet a friend? However dear she may be, the mental checklist must be run through before anything else is established: is she fatter or thinner? Healthier or peakier? How's her hair — and where did she get that jacket? No need for guilt about this, for as you embrace, you can be absolutely certain, the friend is running exactly the same check on you.

Some findings may be articulated ("Hey, you're looking great!", "You're so skinny!" or "Are you tired?"). Others are taboo until mentioned by the sufferer: this is particularly true of the disastrous haircut, which will be greeted by inward laughter on the part of the beholder, but converted to outward sympathy on the proper cue. If no one female mentions your new hairdo, you can assume it's awful. If you lament its awfulness first, however, you can rely on a woman to remind you that hair grows and to say, nicely, that it isn't that bad anyway.

Male observers of these exchanges have always interpreted them as evidence of the irredeemable bitchiness, jealousy and competitiveness of women, and these qualities are what fashion magazines are said to amplify and exploit in some massive commercial conspiracy.

What is never acknowledged is the constructive side of our visual awareness of each other: that it is also our way of watching over each other's health and well-being. A friend who gets too thin or too fat no longer provokes quiet envy or satisfaction in the beholder. She makes us worry. Is she depressed, anorexic, bulimic, and why? If she's looking pale and tired, what's wrong?



SARAH MOWER

Is she hung over, overworking, suffering from PMT, or — good Lord — pregnant? If the instant visual analysis is alarming, it will be followed by gentle probing and the application of skilful talking therapy. It's a social safety valve no one should underestimate.

Also not to be underestimated is our capacity for admiration of one another. Women are generous with compliments when friends and colleagues are looking good. We tend to rate our women friends as attractive, intelligent and fascinating, and genuinely can't understand it if men don't agree.

All of these complex strands of women's collective looks-consciousness weave together to create the environment in which fashion magazines can exist. To think that magazines make unwitting beauty slaves and fashion victims of their readers is vastly to underestimate our facility for sifting, analysing and discriminating.

It also ignores the way that women's magazines are a conduit for the most up-to-date information on medicine, psychology and self-help. Readers of women's magazines were among the first to learn that though images of slim models are implicated somewhere in the psychology of eating disorders, the root of the problem lies in something for which fashion cannot be blamed: feelings of powerlessness and anger that come from women's unequal position in society.

Every balanced woman knows there's a distinction to be drawn between looks good in pictures, and what applies in real life. It is also true that the women we remember as the great dressers of all time are never the merely pretty or the preny-fashionable, but those who made something of themselves, became more like themselves and better at doing it as they got older. What the modern woman really aspires to is that proud and independent ability to see herself objectively and to be influenced by fashion only so far as it is useful for her own ends. Which is why glossy magazines are a tool for women's self-development and not an instrument of our oppression.

What induces men to scrape the hair off their faces every day? Vanity? Masochism? Peer pressure? A shaver and a non-shaver explain

## The bare-faced cheek of it all

Shaving truly is a perversion — a form of female impersonation practised in private by most men in the world every single day of their lives. I have had a beard for more than 20 years, and I still resent the fact that to be "clean-shaven" (even leaving aside the inference that those who are not harbour some unspeakable dirtiness) is seen as the perfectly natural and normal state, whereas as we all know, it is a bald illusion — merely the result of the often painful ritual of regularly removing the natural secondary sexual characteristic in a strange bid to emulate a woman's complexion.

Women intuitively appreciate the essential femininity of hairlessness, most of them quite as willing as men to undergo discomfort and inconvenience to depilate most parts of themselves. A woman has no desire to apply hair restorer to her face, or to attach false whiskers with spirit gum in order to lend herself a masculine swagger. Hairiness is male: hairy legs, arms, and hands are all viewed as acceptable, even desirable, on a man (and so too were hairy chests, until the current icons of masculinity — the Chippendales, the Dream Boys and similarly revolting phenomena — began to shave their collective and rather alarmingly bounteous *embellishments*).

So far, no argument. So why do 99 per cent of men every day feel obliged to plough through the 30,000 whiskers that someone who must have been spectacularly bored has estimated make up the typical male beard? Certainly not because they enjoy it: it hurts, and so do the astringents which purport to close the pores and soothe the pain, but in practice serve only to ignite the poorly-flayed tenderness.

I am asking why men shave, though it is a question seldom posed: enquiry is constantly being made of the bearded, on the other hand, as to why they grew the thing. The truth is, of course, that a beard is one of the very few things in life which may be acquired by doing absolutely nothing: one does not grow a beard, one simply gives up the unequal struggle of keeping it at bay.

The time thus saved (139 days of one's life, some even more canonically bored statistician has computed) may be productively employed in worrying about the onset of baldness, and whether or not one is going to invest in someone else's dead hair to cover up the gaps. The beard is then kept trim, rather in the manner of one's hair or one's lawn — neither of which is razed back to nothingness at the first stirrings of life.

So why do men shave? I think the answer has nothing to do with a desire to dissociate themselves from their primitive forbears, nor does the act betray an inverted Samson berran an inverted Samson complex. It is simply about peer pressure: nearly all men shave — just as most Victorian gentlemen sported elaborate facial growths because most Victorian gentlemen did just that.

The only time in recent memory when a swing back seemed a possibility was when Paul McCartney appeared with a full set just before the break-up of the Beatles: beards were all over the place for a while, but these days no public figure has that sort of clout. If



Razor question: hirsute Joseph Connolly (left) and the fresh-faced Robert Crampton



the Prince of Wales grew a beard, few would follow his example: if John Major tried one on for size, the greybeard jokes would soon shock him into thinking again.

The only person in the world who could carry it off is Madonna. The socio-sexual ramifications would be truly awe-inspiring; but then, gender-bending isn't Madonna's exclusive domain — men do it every morning.

JOSEPH CONNOLLY

Why do I shave? I shave because I don't like the consequences of my not shaving. In other words I don't like what passes for my beard, or what would more properly be called the few clumps of facial hair that grow if I do not remove them. I stress my beard, because I have no objection (like Ross Perot has) to beards in general, only a great many individual beards of which my own is my least favourite.

The idea that every man

over the age of 18 has a full, dense growth of beard is a myth. I am 28, and what I have, and by now, presumably, all I ever will have, is this two clumps covering an area about as big as a new ten pence piece on each side of my chin; a little tuft below my lower lip; a sparse smattering on my top lip; and then about 15 random hairs on either cheek. That's the lot. Not exactly George Michael is it?

This collection — what, 300 hairs in all? — if left, develops

after about four days into a "beard" of sorts, but it is not Fyodor Dostoevsky, it is not Ernest Hemingway, it is not Joe Connolly, it is not even the current Bob Geldof minimalist Fu Man Chu. No, my beard is an army cadet, it is a virgin policeman. It is a teenage runaway with mange, it is an unjoined-up Leon Trotsky. It is a mess. It is absurd. It must be removed. So, every four days, I shave my beard off.

The question is, even if I could drum up some full Mickey Rourke stubble, would I still shave? The answer is yes, for three reasons. First, I like shaving, possibly because, at speed, it takes up about 90 seconds twice a week, though I usually string it out. I like the whole rigmarole, the routine, the time to myself. I like the clobber too — the brush, the razor, the pot of foam — the "tackle", as these little odds and sods of the masculine experience are tellingly called in James Bond books. I think most men like shaving, even the ones who have beards.

That's another myth: that men with beards don't shave. Some don't — the stuff-for-a-lark, never-been-near-a-razor-and-proud-of-it minority. I rather admire them. Their beards — Karl Marx going on Santa Claus — may be aesthetically repugnant, but at least their views are intellectually coherent.

But there is another, more widespread sort: the vain bearded, the one who professes he can't be bothered to shave, but actually spends more time

snipping, clipping, razoring and grooming than someone who simply whips it all off. Yet it's not even as if his hypocrisy is even worthwhile, because the tinkered-around-with beard generally looks worse than its unkempt cousin. And that's the second reason I would always clean shave. The more you tinker, the worse it gets. You thin out the side bits, and end up with enormous cheeks, the medieval baron effect, often favoured by trade union officials. You get rid of the moustache, and get the Andrei Sakharov/Amish farmer look. You shave off the chin hair, and you're a Dickensian bully. Why bother?

And the third reason? Well, I may be wrong, but I can't help feeling that most men grow beards because they've got something to hide, something unpleasant, such as no chin, a singular chin like Jimmy Hill's or more chins than nature intended. I wouldn't want to be the sort of guy who camouflaged imperfection with hair and besides, there's nothing much wrong with my chin. If there were, I'd clean shave and tough it out just the same. Given my growth, I wouldn't have much choice would I?

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A government in turmoil: can Tory unity be regained under its present leader?

# Why the prime minister should go

Paul Johnson makes an impassioned plea for Major to step down in order to save his party

Like many political commentators, I gave John Major a generous honeymoon when he became prime minister, and when I was disturbed by some of his earlier actions, I allowed him the benefit of the doubt. More: his courageous election victory against the odds aroused my warm admiration. But during the summer and autumn the conviction that he has the qualities to be prime minister, especially a Conservative one, has gradually been undermined, and has now collapsed completely. I believe he should go — without delay.

Mr Major's errors are almost too numerous to list, but seven stand out, all of them deadly. First, Mr Major's (and Norman Lamont's) unqualified assurance that they would maintain sterling's value in the exchange-rate mechanism (ERM) were not merely foolhardy but, as it turned out, dishonourable. Convinced of Mr Major's sincerity and competence, many thousands of patriotic individuals and firms refused to switch from pounds into marks, and as a result have seen a loss of about 15 per cent in their reserves or savings. Others, who knew the prime minister would break his word, made fortunes: one man \$1 billion.

Mr Major clearly owed the nation an apology. But none came. Just as some children nowadays are brought up not to know even the concepts of "please" and "thank you", so I fear Mr Major cannot grasp what an apology is, let alone find the words to make one.

Second, it is now evident that Mr Major's Citizen's Charter, the one piece of policy he has personally produced as prime minister, is a meaningless piece of window-dressing. Far from embodying Mr Major's democratic principles, it merely reveals that he has none. For the essence of such a charter must be the recognition that the citizen has the final word on the way his or her life is shaped by government. No treaty in history will have more impact on the daily lives of ourselves, our children and grandchildren, than Maastricht. Yet Mr Major refuses a referendum. He says Parliament must decide.

But when parliamentary opposition, undoubtedly reflecting widespread public feeling, as the polls show, presents itself, he turns on it savagely, not only threatening every variety of torture known to the

whip's office, but a general election too. Like King Rehoboam, he says: "My father hath chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions."

Then there was the attempt to shut down the mines. The episode had the unenviable benefit of destroying any remaining prime ministerial ambitions of Michael Heseltine. That egregious dandy, gorgeously arrayed in his self-created presidential robes, fell flat on his handsome face in the mire. Whoever said God has no sense of humour? But the important point was that Mr Major approved the closures. They involved in particular destroying the jobs of the Union of Democratic Mineworkers, the

very men whose courage had saved the nation during the most dangerous strike in its history. They had given their all for democracy in the pits, and Mr Major's response was to turn them into the streets. One is entitled to ask: if a prime minister will betray the democratic miners, whom will he not betray?

But then the prime minister's recent career has been a succession of broken promises and retractions. The fourth deadly sin is that he has transformed the U-turn into a work of art, which ought to be put into the Tate Gallery. Mr Major seeks to give an impression of the resolution he does not possess by constantly saying "I will never do this" or "I refuse absolutely to do

that." Then, two or three days later, he does it. Like Lear, he says "I will do such things — what they are yet I know not — but they shall be the terrors of the earth." But nothing follows, and no one is terrified any longer.

Theodore Roosevelt advised: "Speak softly, and carry a big stick." Mr Major speaks loudly and carries a matchstick.

The fifth deadly sin is that Mr Major has made possible what I can only call a low moral tone in his government. It seems to be a government of cheats — some would say of crooks — whose chief political principle is to stick together.

There is still some mystery about the Mellor affair. Once it was revealed in court that David Mellor had accepted air tickets worth a considerable sum, he clearly had to go. Yet Mr Major did his best to keep him. Why? The rule is that such gifts must be referred to the prime minister, who was then Mrs Thatcher. Mr Mellor did not do this but instead it is said that he consulted his friend John Major. Did Mr Major say: "Keep them"? That seems likely but we ought to be told whether it is true or not.

As it is, Mr Major has given the impression that he is a government from which no one resigns unless forced to do so by overwhelming public, media and backbench pressure.

The fact that Mr Lamont remains in office after the devaluation fiasco has immeasurably lowered the prestige of the Chancellor's office in the eyes of the City and the world. The assumption is that he cannot go without dragging down Mr Major with him. Others take their cue from ministers. Thus the governor of the Bank of England ignores the implication of the Bingham report and clings to his job. It is as if he says: "Why should I resign? No one else does these days." The concept of the honourable resignation has lapsed — one hopes only temporarily.

The sixth deadly sin, the consequence of all the others, is that Mr Major has forfeited his authority.

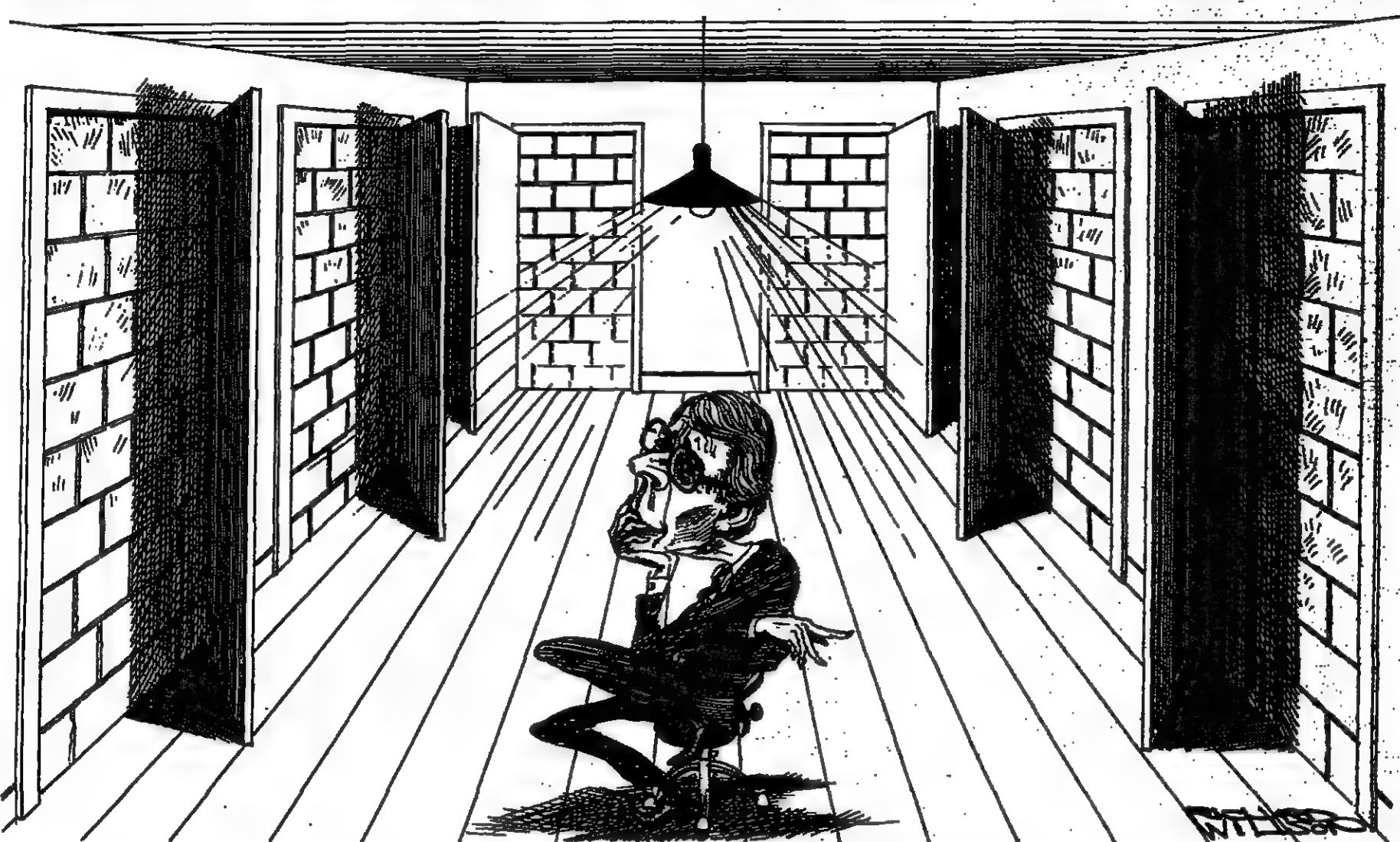
Like others before him — Rosebery, for example, or Harold Wilson in 1969-70 — he has lost control of his cabinet. His colleagues neither respect nor fear him, and cling together more from a sense of self-preservation, than because they are led. The confidence of the backbenchers in Mr Major is likewise disappearing. They are beginning to wield the whips and scorpions themselves. Policy, if only in a negative sense, is increasingly dictated not by the cabinet but by the 1922 Committee. That is no way to run a government or the country.

There is the final deadly sin — less a sin, perhaps, than a predicament — the deterioration in the prime minister's morale and self-control. He simply does not possess the resilience to withstand the pressures of being a prime minister in a crisis. Two or three months ago, I thought of Mr Major as a Wilson: a man able enough to become prime minister but uncertain of what to do when he got there, other than behave prime ministerially, since he does not possess a body of settled opinions. Now, after the experience of the last fortnight, I see him more as a Sir Anthony Eden. For those old enough to remember the Suez year, 1956, there are some disturbing parallels.

I was said of Eden that, under pressure, "he behaved like a beautiful but hysterical woman". Mr Major is certainly no beauty. But the element of hysteria seems to be there. As someone remarked to me earlier this week: "It may be that Major will have to be removed not so much by the men in dark suits as by the men in white coats." That is unfair. But certainly the temperament needed to make Number Ten a calm, still centre in a turbulent world is conspicuously lacking.

If this indictment I have drawn up is valid, then the sooner Mr Major goes the better for the seven deadly sins will not be exorcised: they will multiply. The longer he stays, the more the Tory crisis will deepen, and the more likely it will be that, in desperation, they will have to turn to Margaret Thatcher, as they turned to Churchill in 1940. That is certainly what I desired and foresee. But is it what Tony Major wants? If not, they should act with all deliberate speed.

Tomorrow: Bruce Anderson will put the case for the prime minister.



John Major had his referendum on Maastricht on Monday night. It was rather a good one. The question was not a crude yes or no. It was framed to reflect shades of opinion, including on Mr Major himself. Its conclusion is binding. If the prime minister is told he cannot carry a substantive pro-Maastricht vote after his "paving" debate next Wednesday, he will not try. His general election bluff will have been called. His cabinet will not commit collective suicide on his funeral pyre. He knows that and can live to fight another bruising day.

A technical adjournment motion is now likely to be substituted instead and will be carried. The Maastricht bill will be tabled later with the support of Labour. It will float through the chamber into next year, either passing messily into law or being put out of its misery by another Danish No. It thus makes no difference whether Maastricht is a treaty vital to British interests, or a neo-fascist monster, or a harmless dinosaur almost certain to become extinct. Mr Major should be in the clear, embarrassed but in the clear.

This assumes only that Mr Major has not completely torn up the rules of his trade and gone politically silly in the head. In view of his behaviour at the weekend, this prospect must at least be addressed. In 1990, the unique selling proposition of John Major for the leadership was as a tactical genius. True, he was a bit short on ideology. Yes, he seemed grey and inexperienced. But when it came to

late-night number crunching with the whips he was a wow. As we saw with the poll tax, he knew when to hold the scum, when to break on the blind side or when to dummy or kick for touch.

So what on earth was this on Saturday about a general election if he loses? I believe that there are moments in politics, as in war, when strategy must be thrown to the winds, when a leader stops everything, rolls up his sleeves and gets down to tactics. Mr Major decided at the famous October 15 cabinet to defy caution and risk early ratification. He badly wanted to show his virility, face down the rebels and put on a strong show as European president. He indicated that, like Melbourn, he wanted supporters who would back him when he was wrong, not just when he was right.

The calculation was a fine one. The whips could not rely on Labour MPs to support Maastricht on the paving motion, but could probably rely on the Liberal Democrats. If the latter cancelled out the 20 or so diehard Tory sceptics, there still remained a further 30 to 40 "soft sceptics" to secure. The best tactic would be to play long, make the paving motion a technical one and spin out the bill procedure into the new year. The Council of Ministers could be satisfied that Britain was not just sheltering behind Denmark. The gambit was bold but possible.

A thesis could be written on the catastrophes that result from Downing Street staff travelling in

## John Major must stay and fight another day

If the Tories keep their cool they can readily muddle through their latest difficulties, writes Simon Jenkins

the same plane as the press. The practice should cease in the interest of good government. Those bored, overheated, intoxicated cabins generate into a Neronian orgy of gossip and speculation.

Thus did Mr Major land his spluttering thunderbolts at the rebels at the weekend. Maastricht, he said, was a decision of overwhelming importance to Britain, to Europe and, with a swelling breast, to the future of John Major himself. The general election threat was not denied. Calumnies were heaped on the heads of the hated Eurosceptics. Tired metaphors were spouted about missed trains and offshore islands. All suggested a new boy who has been told he cannot join the big boys' club until

he proved himself a bully. Far from a British prime minister sitting four square at the heart of Europe, Europe seemed to be sitting four square on the heart of a British prime minister.

Negotiating European reform takes British politicians in diametrically opposite ways. It reduces such as Margaret Thatcher and Norman Lamont to a frenzied xenophobia. Nigel Lawson and Geoffrey Howe react by going native, convinced that opposing the "greater union" is both intellectually disreputable and traitorous. Similar temperamental parallels existed among policy-makers towards Europe in the 1930s. Until recently Mr Major's talent was to have trodden a pragmatic path

between these two positions. Not any more.

What is extraordinary in Mr Major's case is how swiftly he has switched from pragmatic to Euro-messianic mode. He went to Maastricht 11 months ago virtually a born-again Thatcherite after demolishing the Dutch "federal" draft. Cabinet distaste for the treaty, supported by furious briefing, was palpable. Mr Major fought clause after clause. When he announced the outcome as "game, set and match for Britain" the general view was that he had done a grand job. Had he gone for instant ratification, he would probably have secured it.

Every movement in European opinion since then has vindicated

his pre-Maastricht scepticism. Yet Mr Major suddenly began to veer, leaving his most loyal supporters confused. Was scepticism in or out? Were we going slow or fast? In the Commons on September 24, Mr Major seemed to be emphatic he would wait on a definition of subsidiarity. He said, "When we are satisfied that such a system has been put in place and when we are clear that the Danes have a basis on which they can put the treaty back to their electorate, we shall bring the Maastricht bill back to the House." He repeated this line again and again.

Not so in October. Mr Major seemed frightened of new ghosts. The Foreign Office tried desperately to pretend that the treaty was the "first great step back from centralism" (it roughly doubles the number of policies in which Brussels can establish leverage). Douglas Hurd's beloved clause 3b on subsidiarity was dismissed as meaningless by one eminent lawyer after another, however much midnight oil is burnt in the Foreign Office to find a protocol to give it substance. Mr Major began hurling abuse at the Eurosceptics in conversation to all and sundry.

Nobody regards Maastricht as perfect. Treaties are always thus. Locarno was full of holes. Even the Triple Entente was a curate's egg. Maastricht is peculiar in the virulence of its differing interpretations. But what is clear is that neither Mr Major with his tergiversations nor the whips with their threats have been able to persuade his Com-

mons electoral college to toe the current line. Those who regard this treaty as so evil as to transcend any one prime minister will vote against it. Those who regard it as an irrelevance to the future of Britain and Europe seem ready to do the same if asked point blank next Wednesday. Others merely dislike: being threatened with a rubber one.

As for Mr Major, after the past fortnight many are inclined to let the gods of Unknown Circumstance judge his fate.

He must re-establish his coalition. He has not committed a hanging crime, either in the view of most of his MPs or at the bar of history. In the Commons yesterday he did not seem to be off his head. I would diagnose a severe bout of foreign-policyitis. This disease is endemic among world leaders, erupting in a rash of airports, departures, foreign banquets and abstract nouns. It produces an equal and opposite reaction of hysteria in backbench MPs who feel neglected.

Like the king in Alan Bennett's play *The Madness of George III*, the prime minister needs to change his advisers, regain his involvement in domestic politics and spend more time at home with his wife. He must rid himself and his colleagues of their present fixation with European affairs. Heaven knows he has real battles ahead without seeking out superfluous ones.

## Prince and the playwright

IF THE TWO little princes, William and Harry, do not know their Bottom from their Mark Antony it will not be the fault of their father. So concerned is Prince Charles about the teaching of Shakespeare in schools that he intends to set up a summer school to further the fading art of making the Bard more accessible to students of English.

Clearly aware that it is now possible to gain degrees in English Literature at certain universities without even studying the great plays, the Prince has approached the Royal Shakespeare Company's educational arm to help with the project which is likely to be instituted in either Stratford or Oxford.

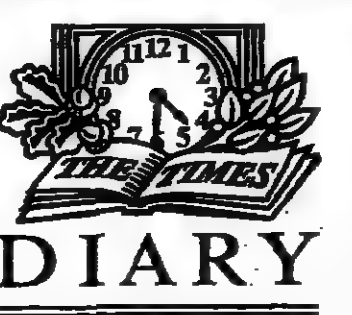
Palace insiders say the Prince, who is an active president of the RSC, has always shown an impressive grasp of the subject himself and has, in the past, given well-received lectures on Shakespeare. At the Everyman launch this week, the royal held a captive audience including Sir Isaiah Berlin and Kenneth Branagh as he discussed ideas for the summer school.

Branagh, whose film of *Henry V* Prince Charles has seen three times, is expected to become involved with the venture.

"The Prince feels it would be a terrible loss to British culture if our children ignore the works of Shakespeare," says a Palace insider. "I am sure that now Kenneth Branagh is aware of the project, he will be very interested."

Prince Charles admits to finding some solace in the works of Britain's greatest playwright. *Henry V* is a particular favourite.

"... makes the world full of ill-favoured children" (As you like it)



"Each time I have seen or read the play it has been the humanity of the King that has moved me most," he told a gathering of academics last year, quoting from the play. "What infinite heart's ease / Must kings neglect, that private men enjoy!" Whatever the result of his plans, Shakespeare would surely approve of the Prince's sentiments — one man in his time plays many parts, after all.

### Safe and sound

THE effects of the recession are spreading to parts hitherto blissfully unaffected by temporal hardship. The monks and masters of Ampleforth College are to be seen singing the praises of burglar alarms on a

Yorkshire Television commercial next month. The Roman Catholic public school and alma mater to Cardinal Basil Hume, the Duke of Norfolk, and Lord Heseltine, the government chief whip in the House of Lords, is departing from the plainsong to extol the virtues of the Harrogate-based No 6 Group Security Systems.

The firm turned to the College to try to produce a light advertisement with a serious message. Les Quigley, the company's chief executive, says: "We picked a simple first world war tune. We then needed some voices for the lyrics. I have heard the superb schola cantorum in Ampleforth Abbey on many occasions so I contacted the music director, Ian Little, for help."

The boys were about to go on leave but Little was able to produce a handful of Benedictine monks and tuneful masters. It could be the start of a lucrative sideline.

What do foreign exchange dealers do when not making billions at the expense of the Bank of England? The sensitive souls in the strappy shirts turn to poetry to chronicle the grosser side of life in the City. It seems. In what is billed as "possibly the first ever book of fi-



The aptly named Edwina Currie, Emma Nicholson and 77 fellow MPs celebrated the launch of the Curry Club at the Red Fort restaurant in Soho yesterday. Conspicuous by his absence was Nirj Deva (centre), the first Conservative Asian MP, who is serving a life ban from the restaurant. "He got too embroiled in 1985," says the manager.

ancial poetry", two teenage scribblers, under the pen names Gog and Magog, have produced *Poems From The Square Mile*. Trading literary skill for topicality, the duo have penned such lines as "If Southey had been a Maxwell Pensioner": "It was an autumn evening / Old Maxwell's work was done / And he had got upon his yacht / To somewhere in the sun... Ted Hughes need not be unduly worried."

### Clinton's Napoleon

AT LEAST one member of the Oxford mafia preparing to move into the White House with Bill Clinton will have no difficulty asserting his intellectual stature. But Robert Reich's undoubted academic prowess does not extend to the physical. Now one of America's leading economic gurus, he was once described by Clinton, whom he met when they were both Rhodes schol-

ars, as the smallest American he had ever met. He is 4ft 10in. At his Ivy League School at Dartmouth fellow pupils called Reich "Little Napoleon" because he was so small but compensated for it by mastering everything he attempted.

The arrival of Reich at University College with Clinton in 1968 — they then went on to Yale together — has passed into college legend. When Reich presented himself at the porters' lodge, in the company of another Rhodes scholar, the porter barked: "They promised us two Rhodes scholars and they have sent one and a half."

As minister in charge of the Citizen's Charter, William Waldegrave showed how better than to risk running the gauntlet of the train-using public before breakfast. The minister was mobbed while waiting for the 6.57 morning express from Bath to London this week. The train, which was already some minutes late, first failed to stop at platform two and was then forced to reverse more than a hundred metres making it even later. As Waldegrave boarded, he was surrounded by passengers wondering whether they were entitled to compensation as the train had been late — twice.

October 1992





## WAYS OF ESCAPE

The prime minister can still confound his enemies

Europe was the proximate cause of Margaret Thatcher's downfall. John Major appears bent on courting, quite gratuitously, a similar fate. Ranged though they now are on opposite sides of the Tory barricades, a parallel can already be drawn between two leaders who allowed the tenacious defence of principle to degenerate into stubborn adherence to dogma.

Under pressure from a divided party, Baroness Thatcher lost sight of her original, coherent if unromantic, vision of a Europe of nation states co-operating where it served their interests. She instead fell back on a crude, single-minded and often emotional defence of British sovereignty, narrowly defined. Her party would not follow her into this bunker. Mr Major is showing signs of constructing one of his own.

Soon after taking office, Mr Major deliberately sought to put himself at a safe distance from his predecessor. He presented himself as a hard bargainer, but one who did not consider Europe to be hostile territory. His broad commitment to a "Britain at the heart of Europe" earned dividends at the Maastricht summit, even if, paradoxically, the principal gain lay in steering Britain clear of automatic involvement in European monetary union, the project at the heart of the Maastricht treaty. Yet so obsessed has the prime minister become with banking this triumph of damage-limitation, that he is beginning to act as though the Maastricht treaty were a convincing substitute for policy, and its ratification by the British Parliament his sole objective.

British interests in Europe cannot be so narrowly defined. In important respects, Maastricht is an answer to what has become the wrong questions. The political union envisaged under Maastricht was born of the French determination to lock united Germany within the West. Times have changed since 1990. There is now a contiguity of interest between East and West. Europe's economic and even political security requires the EC to play its part in tearing down the economic and political barriers it was so successful in erecting against the communist menace. With the ending of the Cold war, it has never been more true, in Palmerston's words, that Britain has no eternal allies, and no perpetual enemies.

Mr Major needs to explain what grounds he has, in this transformed European continent, for believing that Maastricht is the right route to placing Britain at Europe's heart. More importantly, he needs to explain why the Europe that will be created under the Maastricht blueprint of "ever closer union" will be more peaceful, more prosperous, and more open to the post-communist world.

That means going back to basics. Maastricht, like any treaty, is no more than a means to an end. About the desirable end, the British are as near unanimous as democracies can ever be. British membership of the EC is not in question. Britain has many interests in common with other European countries, and needs to use the Community's machinery — with all the compromises this must involve — where these interests can be furthered by joint action.

The EC has prospered thanks to this essentially piecemeal, flexible approach to co-operation. Maastricht, however, breaks with this tradition, at least with regard to monetary union. It imposes time-limited steps towards this goal, to which governments will be treaty-bound to adhere. This "top down" approach is as undesirable as it seems likely to prove unrealistic. At the heart of the popular resistance to Maastricht in Europe is a healthy antipathy to being dragged into a treaty which would end the Maastricht debate: every stage of its implementation will be a struggle in every country.

In negotiating its terms, Mr Major had the right motives. He was determined to involve Britain fully in the kinds of co-operation which would protect Europe from the worst recrudescences of nationalism; and he wanted to set the EC on course to broader membership. The project has misfired in most EC countries, creating a nationalist backlash against what is widely perceived as a European superstate in the making. The EC's poorer countries are demanding enormous subventions from its richer members as the price of monetary union, and the rules governing EMU — to which they will have to commit themselves on entry — will effectively exclude the still poorer states of eastern and southern Europe from EC membership.

At Birmingham, Mr Major acknowledged the strength of this popular revolt across Europe, but he remains unwilling to acknowledge its force in Britain, or the implications for his own policy. He seems not to recognise that the real challenge he confronts is not simply to get this treaty through Parliament, but to raise his eyes above the tactical battle and spell out convincingly why victory would be a victory for Britain.

Consider, by dismal contrast, the reasons the government has put forward, since December 1990, in support of first seeking a deal, then of ratification. The first is the familiar train-catching case: Britain must be part of the "construction of Europe", or be left behind by the other 11 EC states. It was because this argument had real force in 1990 that Mrs Thatcher lost the party leadership.

Since then, however, the doubts of the more rational British Eurosceptics about the

wisdom of Maastricht have become increasingly common ground, shared for a wide variety of reasons by most Danes, by nearly half the French electorate and by the majority of Germans, whose attachment to the mark was seriously underestimated by their government. Enthusiasm for Maastricht will wane in the poorer EC countries if, as is likely, Germany leads a revolt against the cost of helping them to meet the criteria for the EMU that clearly many Germans do not even want.

There is thus no certainty that Britain would be alone with Denmark if it decided not to go ahead. The Danish "no" made public across Europe think again. EC governments could hardly attempt to sweep aside a British rejection as they have Denmark's. They would be more likely to bring forward the review of the EC's machinery envisaged for 1996: renegotiation under another name. This might mean a multispeed Europe; but it is at least reasonable to ask whether this is not a more natural, and more healthy, way for European cooperation to evolve than within the straitjacket of an over-ambitious treaty which may not be fully implemented.

The second argument, which Mr Major and Douglas Hurd have repeatedly emphasised since the Maastricht summit, is that the treaty would roll back the EC's centralising empire, restoring power to national governments. The magic formula, the treaty's subsidiarity clause, is now almost universally admitted to be worthless. Even aside from its ambiguity as to who decides where power should properly reside, the much vaunted restrictions on community power apply only to "areas which do not fall within its exclusive competence". Mr Major promises to use the British presidency to convert subsidiarity from a meaningless olive-branch for national susceptibilities into a working framework governing interpretation of the treaty. The rapid conclusions of this month's Birmingham summit hold out small hope that he will succeed.

British ministers have also made much of the EC's exclusion from the purely inter-governmental nature of co-operation in foreign and security policy, justice and home affairs; yet the treaty explicitly states that "the Commission shall be fully associated with the work" in both these areas. The government's claim that Brussels will be kept out would thus appear, at the least, to contravene the Trades Descriptions Act.

The treaty's defenders are on somewhat stronger ground when they contend that were Maastricht to be rejected, the EC's confusion and loss of purpose would jeopardise the success of its greatest co-operative endeavour, the opening of a single European market at the end of this year. That is a genuine risk; but so is the undermining of the single market if countries experience severe economic strains as they try to meet the targets for EMU, within the Maastricht deadline of 1999.

Even if Britain's opt-out from EMU can be maintained — which is likely in practice only if other EC countries abandon the goal — the opt-out clause cannot insulate it from a wave of protectionism brought on by EMU-related recession in the rest of the EC. If EMU is as ill-conceived as Britain believes, the argument for the treaty as a whole remains stubbornly elusive.

Mr Major genuinely believes that failure to ratify Maastricht would set back by years the widening of the EC. But unanimity is required for the admission of new members. France's hostility to a larger EC is second only to its stubborn defence of the lunacies of the common agricultural policy; and part of the attraction of Maastricht to the French government is that it raises the costs of entry. Rich Sweden is already counting the cost of shadowing the ERM. For countries such as Poland, the disciplines of EMU would be bankrupting. Mr Major may yet become a convert to "variable geometry", an EC which offers different countries different levels of co-operation. If so, better before Britain commits itself to the Maastricht treaty than after the event.

If Mr Major is to re-establish his leadership and authority, which he has so firmly linked to Maastricht, he must engage strongly on these fronts. He has, however, retreated steadily from such engagement, even to the point of seeking refuge in the pathetic claim that if he fails to "deliver" on Maastricht his EC partners will never trust him, or Britain, again. This is ridiculous. If so of Britain, why not of Denmark?

Downing Street's answer is that the Danish government negotiated in good faith, and has suffered defeat at the hands of its electorate. That would be one way out of Mr Major's own dilemma. He has refused a referendum knowing that all opinion polls point to a British rejection of Maastricht. This is no basis on which to commit the country to the great constitutional changes involved in European political and economic union on Maastricht's terms. If he cannot put it to voters with complete confidence in a "yes" vote, he should question the wisdom of whipping it through Parliament.

Mr Major cannot just go on clutching at the treaty as though it were a paper raft. He should pursue the ratification of Maastricht only if he is prepared to defend it not in negative terms, not in terms of British opt-outs, but as an integral part of his vision for Europe. He must quickly set out what the Edinburgh summit must achieve, both to reassure the Danes (without whose assent, the treaty is legally dead) and to enable him to commend the treaty wholeheartedly to the British people.

## Salvaging the wreckage from hospital closure proposals

From Professor June Clark, President of the Royal College of Nursing

Sir, Sir Bernard Tomlinson has proposed the closure or merger of some of London's most celebrated hospitals (reports and leading article, October 24), unleashing an entirely understandable tide of anger and concern.

It is worth recalling the historic reasons for the foundation of hospitals which form part of London's and the nation's heritage. Most were established by public benefactors to meet the needs of the capital's most deprived residents.

Centuries later, sadly, the inner city of London still has some of the worst areas of deprivation in the country. Londoners need facilities appropriate for their changing needs — better primary health care, better facilities for frail elderly people and for those suffering chronic and debilitating illness.

The Tomlinson report offers an historic opportunity to address those needs by expanding community-based facilities. Some of those facilities would continue to be offered in the hospital setting. Others would be offered to Londoners, for the first time, in local health centres and in their own homes. Nurses would have a key role in all settings; hence our view that London needs all its nurses.

The status quo is not an option. London is already suffering widespread, piecemeal cuts in both hospital and community services, and these will continue as the internal market in health leads purchasing authorities to question the economic justification for sending their residents up to the capital for treatment.

Unless a coherent pan-London plan for the future pattern of the capital's health services is developed and funded, there is little prospect of addressing the inner-city deprivation which so distressed the founding benefactors of our historic hospitals. Nor will it be possible to safeguard and develop the specialist expertise and excellence in clinical practice which has become a resource for the whole nation.

If the government chooses to treat Tomlinson simply as a cost-cutting exercise, the results for London will be disastrous.

Yours sincerely,  
JUNE CLARK,  
President,  
Royal College of Nursing,  
20 Cavendish Square, W1,  
October 26.

From Dr Robin Russell Jones

Sir, Between them, the four London teaching hospitals threatened with closure deal with more than 200,000 patients in their accident and emergency departments every year. During the winter months, enormous difficulties are encountered finding beds for acutely ill patients and on one widely reported occasion have led to the death of a patient waiting on a trolley in a casualty corridor.

If London loses another 2,500 beds there will be chaos, and it may not be long before the government is forced into a rebuilding programme to

replace the hospitals it has closed. The root of the problem is not inadequate demand, but inadequate resources. By creating an internal market and then underfunding the purchasing arm, the government has engineered a situation whereby centres of excellence have little chance of survival.

Tomlinson recognises this reality, but his recommendations should be seen as an exercise in damage limitation. To claim that they will improve standards of health care in London is dangerous nonsense.

Yours faithfully,  
ROBIN RUSSELL JONES,  
Royal Postgraduate Medical School,  
Hammersmith Hospital,  
Du Cane Road, W12,  
October 25.

From Professor Peter Braude

Sir, Successful clinical research is not fostered in isolation. It requires the interaction of many disciplines, especially with basic non-clinical scientists such as biochemists, molecular biologists, physicists and the like, who are to be found on the teaching and research staff of medical schools and large university departments.

Resistance to a move of research units and academics out of a teaching centre such as London to district general hospitals arises because the critical mass of clinicians and scientists needed to work together to spark off ideas, and with the expertise to follow them through, would be difficult to create there.

Not all doctors are up in arms at Tomlinson. I welcome the proposal that Guy's once again merges with its progenitor hospital, St Thomas'. For obstetrics and gynaecology, a merger will improve and ease the teaching of medical students within our joint United Medical and Dental School (successfully merged for the past ten years) and promote provision of better obstetric and women's health-care facilities for the residents of south and central London.

It will also foster strongly our objective to improve research in obstetrics and gynaecology, which will benefit women nationally.

Yours etc,  
PETER BRAUDE,  
Department of Obstetrics and Gynaecology,  
St Thomas' Hospital,  
Lambeth Palace Road, SE1,  
October 25.

From Dr Ian E. Smith and Dr Trevor J. Powles

Sir, Your support for Tomlinson's recommendation that the "Edwardian" Royal Marsden cancer hospital should move to "modern facilities" at the Charing Cross Hospital in Hammersmith is based on a false premise. Behind its attractive Victorian (not Edwardian) facade, the Royal Marsden has the most up-to-date, purpose-built facilities in the country for treating cancer.

Only ten days ago we opened a major new development of wards and operating theatres. In addition, we have a unique on-site link with our scientific colleagues in the Institute of

Cancer Research next door in the Fulham Road which, together with our facilities at Sutton in Surrey, makes us probably the largest comprehensive cancer centre in Europe.

The demand for our clinical services is overwhelming, and with improved efficiency and the dedication and commitment of our staff we intend to expand these services within the facilities and budget which we already have.

How can it make sense to disrupt and break this up and spend enormous sums moving us to Charing Cross, a hospital which is under threat in the market place, in a building 20 years old?

Our job is to beat cancer. We believe we can do this best with the modern facilities and dedicated staff which we already have. Any move at this stage would, in our opinion, be disastrous.

Yours faithfully,  
IAN E. SMITH,  
TREVOR J. POWLES  
(Consultant physicians),  
The Royal Marsden Hospital,  
Fulham Road, SW3,  
October 25.

From Ms Jane Lee

Sir, The possible closure or merger of many of central London's hospitals will place tremendous pressure on the accident and emergency departments of surrounding hospitals.

Many of these have already been granted trust status on the basis that they will provide a better service to local people.

If the government acts on Tomlinson's recommendations, the reverse will be true.

Local people could well find it increasingly difficult to be treated at their local hospitals because many of the acute beds could be taken up by accident and emergency admissions from people who have previously used the services in central London.

Yours sincerely,  
JANE LEE  
(Co-ordinator,  
Hospital Alert,  
51 Grove Road,  
Hounslow, Middlesex,  
October 26.

From Sir Ralph Kilner Brown

Sir, Your leader on the Tomlinson report refers to 5,000 residents in the City of London. This figure is not only inaccurate (the true figure for five days out of seven is at least twice that) but fails to take into account the relevant population within the catchment area over a 24-hour span.

There may be 250,000 who spend their working hours within the catchment area of St Bartholomew's Hospital. All those who are admitted during the day for treatment, whether casually or long-term, and who live outside the City or Islington or Holborn, presumably go into the category of those who occupy beds not properly the responsibility of that hospital. Such a statistical approach is ridiculous.

Yours faithfully,  
RALPH KILNER BROWN,  
174 Defoe House, Barbican, EC2.

## Khmer Rouge and UN

From Miss Helen Long

Sir, In the face of the latest Khmer Rouge violation of the UN peace agreement ("Khmer Rouge blazes bridges in defiance and UN show", report, October 16), when is the international community going to stop appeasing the Khmer Rouge?

I fail to understand the logic of the UN Security Council's resolution, adopted on October 13, that allows the Khmer Rouge to remove some 100,000 people — who are effectively trapped within its zones — from the electoral process, while leaving Pol Pot's candidates free to contest seats in the rest of the country.

It is a travesty that the Khmer Rouge has been written into the peace plan, given its previous genocidal record. The UN has invested £1.17 billion in the peace effort, but if the five permanent members of the Security Council continue to tolerate the Khmer Rouge's determination to derail the process, that money will have been spent in vain. As a first step, the Security Council must impose economic sanctions against the Khmer Rouge and seal the Thai-Cambodia border. This winter may be the last opportunity for the world to save Cambodia from a return to the genocide of the 1970s.

Yours faithfully,  
HELEN LONG (Chair),  
Action Cambodia,  
Flat 3, 192 Grafton Road, NWS,  
October 22.

## Judges' qualities

From Mr Jeffrey Gordon

Sir, Lord Goffard did not retire as Lord Chief Justice in 1949 as Sir Frederick Lawton states ("The bench is not a men's club", Law, October 20); it was in 1958 when Lord Parker took over.

As to lady barristers practising when the esteemed Fred went on the bench in 1961, although he claims not to remember others at the Bar he has apparently forgotten that Margaret Thatcher was a pupil in his chambers for part of that period.

Such doughty advocates as Audrey

## Tobacco advertising

From the President of the British Thoracic Society

Sir, The health select committee meets the Secretary of State for Health tomorrow to take evidence on whether Britain should support the proposed EC directive on a tobacco advertising ban. It appears that this committee may not be in possession of all the relevant facts when they meet.

Early this year it emerged that Clive Smeed, chief economic adviser to the Department of Health, had reported to the minister that tobacco advertising bans in other countries have an

immediate and considerable effect in reducing tobacco consumption by the young. The information forced the department to agree to a fuller report, which would be published.

We know that the Smeed report has been on Mrs Bottomley's desk for almost four weeks, yet it will not be published until — yes — the same day as the select committee meeting. Will the members of the committee have read it by that time?

Yours faithfully,  
NEIL PRIDE,  
President, British Thoracic Society,  
1 St Andrews Place, NW1,  
October 27.

## German questions

From Mr Simon Sweeney

Sir, Your leading article of October 23, "We are all Berliners now", justifiably refers to German lack of diplomacy in planning to celebrate the V2 launch. However it is absurd to claim that such plans exceeded Britain's lack of tact in erecting a memorial to "Bomber" Harris. The V2 celebration did not take place officially. The Harris memorial exists, and presumably will do so for a very long time.

The process of reconciliation deserves greater circumspection from those who should know better.

Yours faithfully,  
S. Y. SWEENEY,  
3 Ghebe Cottages,  
Sheriff Hutton, North Yorkshire.

## Coming of age

From the Reverend B. Koschland

Sir, At the age of 18 a person is not "eighteen" by a solicitor, judge, MP or the like.

Similarly a boy is not declared "bar mizvah" by the Rabbi (Weekend, "Rites of Passage", October 24). One becomes Bar mizvah at 13 just as one comes of age.

There also is no verb "to (be) Bar mizvah(ed)" in English or Hebrew or anywhere else: a ceremony need never take place and yet a boy is Bar mizvah (a girl Bar mizvah at 12).

Yours faithfully,  
B. KOSCHLAND,  
23 Vincent Court,  
Bell Lane,  
Hendon, NW4,  
October 25.

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Yours faithfully,  
B. KOSCHLAND,  
23 Vincent Court,  
Bell Lane,  
Hendon, NW4,  
October 25.

## Wry smiles among HM Constabulary

From Sir John Woodcock, HM Chief Inspector of Constabulary

Sir, I read with very much a wry smile Bernard Levin's article (October 22) about the contrast between the speeches made by the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police and myself on one hand (report, October 14), and a recent court judgment against the Metropolitan Police service on the other. I must point out that the payment of damages by the Metropolitan Police is outside my sphere of responsibility and gave me no cause to smile.

My own smiles had two causes: first, the vindication of my sense that the situation of both speeches being praised by both *The Guardian* and *Police Review*, journals whose views on law-enforcement have not always coincided, was too good to last.

I was disappointed, however, that it was to be Bernard Levin who would take one single incident, however important, and use it to play down the much wider significance of what Sir Peter Imbert and I and the chairman of the Bar Council, who was also speaking, had unanimously had to say about necessary changes to the way in which both the criminal justice system and the police ought to function in the search for truth.

In summary, we agreed that the criminal justice system needed to be able to trust the police but the police also needed to be able to trust the criminal justice system.

The second reason for a smile was that my speech was prefaced by the following words, which were also projected across the whole auditorium:

Once trust in the police is lost it is almost certainly lost forever, and... the losing of that trust is... a potential catastrophe.

The author of those words was of course Bernard Levin, writing in your columns in April of this year. I have sent Mr Levin a complete copy of my speech so that he may consider whether or not his latest broadside is a fair response to the way in which the police service is rising to the challenge of those words, with which I personally agree fully.

Yours faithfully,  
JOHN WOODCOCK,  
Her Majesty's Chief Inspector  
of Constabulary,  
Queen Anne's Gate, SW1,  
October 22.

## Desert perspective

From Sir David Hunt

Sir, *The Times* is to be congratulated on an admirable leading article (October 24) in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of Alamein. As on all previous occasions, however, that great battle is represented as a contest between the Desert Rats (the British 7th Armoured Division) and the Afrika Korps (the German 15th and 21st Armoured Divisions).

That would have been rather a small affair. In fact both Rommel and Montgomery commanded armies, the former of 12 divisions in four corps, the latter 11 divisions in three corps. Three of Rommel's corps were Italian; most of the German troops at Alamein were not in the Afrika Korps. Meanwhile Ronnie Payne, writing on an earlier page, confuses Auchinleck with Alexander in the holding of Rommel before Alamein.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,  
DAVID HUNT,  
Old Place, Lindfield, Sussex,  
October 25.

## Harder to remember

From Mr A. A. M. Pinsent

Sir, Having learned of the Craft (Can't Remember a Flipping Thing) Club from its president's letter to you (October 22), may I suggest that one of the main benefits of being a member is that by virtue of their qualification they make new friends every day.

Yours faithfully,  
ANTONY PINSENT,  
The Old Rectory, Bishopstrow,  
Warminster, Wiltshire,  
October 23.

From Dr Alan Gray

Sir, The president of the Craft Club, Rear Admiral Robertson, arrived at the theatre a month in advance: a patient of mine, on attending outpatients for a consultation with an eye specialist, found he was one year too early.

Yours faithfully,  
A. G. GRAY,  
2 Church Lane, Great Warley,  
Brentwood, Essex.

From Mrs Martin Platt

Sir, Perhaps the Craft Club would care to amalgamate with Whip (Where Have I Put It?). A dear lady I knew some years ago solved this problem as far as her car was concerned by having the roof of her vehicle painted a bright shrimp-pink.

Yours truly,  
BELINDA PLATT,  
Ty Newydd, Nantmor,  
Caernarfon, Gwynedd.

Business letters, page 25

Letters should carry a daytime telephone number. They may be faxed to 071-782 5046.







## OBITUARIES

## LUIS ROSALES

Luis Rosales Camacho, Spanish poet and critic, died in Madrid on October 24 aged 82. He was born in Granada on May 31, 1910.

Luis Rosales is perhaps, and most unjustly, best known outside Spain for what he is alleged in some quarters to have failed to do—to try to prevent the murder of the poet and playwright Federico García Lorca in Granada on or about August 19, 1936. The poet Luis Cernuda, in exile from Franco's Spain, genuinely believed in this canard, and unfortunately for Rosales, enshrined it in his elegy for Lorca. In fact, it should be stated at the outset, Rosales risked his own life—in trying to save Lorca (a close friend of his who had taken refuge in the Rosales family house).

Literary Spain has itself long forgiven Rosales. Indeed, for the most part, owing to the extraordinary detective work of Ian Gibson in his *Assassination of Federico García Lorca*, it honours him for his honest, if vain, effort to protect Spain's great poet and martyr to fascism. Nevertheless in some quarters the unjust accusation stuck, and if it did not actually ruin Rosales's life, it often made it into a profoundly sad one.

Rosales was one of a family of six, five brothers and a sister. He was the son of a popular and thriving merchant, Miguel, whose shop was well known in Granada. The father was a liberal-minded conservative who intensely disliked the Falange founded by José Antonio Primo de Rivera, son of the dictator. But his wife and two of his sons, José and Antonio, became keen falangists. Luis joined the movement later, but with no great enthusiasm. However,

the whole family gladly concealed Lorca (and other so-called "reds") and had nothing whatsoever to do with his brutal murder. Luis was, in fact, expelled from the Falange for his part in the concealment. He was later "fined"—as Lorca was, preposterously, after his murder—and reinstated.

Luis Rosales graduated from the University of Granada before the beginning of the Spanish Civil War, and then went on to Madrid, where he was associated with Lorca and most of the leading Spanish poets and critics. He wrote about Lorca's work, and began to publish his poetry in magazines.

His own poetry, however, did not resemble Lorca's at all, and was in some ways a reaction to it. His collection of 1935, *Abri* ("Aprils"), reflected his concern with the religious and contemplative life, with love, and with his and his group's concern to move Spanish poetry away from the influence of the Baroque Góngora to that of Garcilaso, the 16th-century bucolic Petrarchan poet. Soon afterwards, a poem, the 16th-century bucolic Petrarchan poet. Soon afterwards, a poem, the 16th-century bucolic Petrarchan poet. Soon afterwards, a poem, the 16th-century bucolic Petrarchan poet.

Rosales and his colleagues Luis Felipe Vivanco (with whom he collaborated in a play) and the Panero brothers, Leopoldo and Juan, are sometimes, with others, known as the "Generation of 1936". In imitation of the much more spectacular "Generation of 1927", which included one of the most amazing clusters of poetic genius in all 20th-century poetry: Lorca, Guillén, Prados, Albiguirra, Cernuda, Alberti, Salinas, Aleixandre, Damsa Alonso, and



others scarcely less gifted. At that time, and before the war actually broke out, Spanish poetry, in the persons of several younger men, including Rosales, quite literally lost its nerve. Indeed, it has not yet quite recovered it. It was inevitable; and of the generation of 1927 only Aleixandre, because of his poor health, and Alonso, remained in Spain.

There is no question of Rosales being, in any meaningful literary sense, a real link between this generation of 1927 and a later one. Of his own generation of poets only Dionisio Ridruejo, once called the "Spanish Goethe", changed his

mind about Franco, defied him, and was imprisoned by him. Rosales, essentially non-political, found the Franco regime "broadly acceptable" (as a critic put it), and prospered under it without in any way disgracing himself.

He became highly respected as an academic, and for the undoubted skill of his poetry. However, this never quite recovered from the demands of Franco's literary censors. Rosales was received and comforted by Aleixandre, and he was deeply in sympathy with the famous outburst *Hijos de la ira* (1944, "Children of Anger") of Alonso: this was a book of poems which protested against the meaninglessness of everything without, of course, specifying Franco or his henchmen. Yet when one compares these attempts at rehumanising literature with the energetic hostility of the Italian "hermetic" poets (Montale, Ungaretti, Quasimodo) to fascism, the Spanish verse of Rosales and his contemporaries seems somewhat pallid and technical.

None the less, it was a dignified poetry and Rosales's *La casa encendida* (1949, "The Burning House"), in particular, was an admired collection, as were his collected poems, issued in 1981 after Franco's death.

The best of his many critical books is his illuminating study of the poet who influenced him most fruitfully: Antonio Machado (1963). Also of great value is his learned *El sentimiento del desencanto en la poesía barroca* (1966, "The Sense of Disillusionment in Baroque Poetry"). His work and achievement will last, and if he ends up as a poet with the sort of reputation enjoyed by, say, the skilful Robert Bridges in England, then this is tribute enough.

## APPRECIATION

## Lord Franks

YOUR admirably full obituary of Lord Franks (October 17) suggested that, when I went to see him in Oxford in July 1982 to convey the Prime Minister's request to him to chair the Committee of Privy Counsellors who were to inquire into the events leading up to the Argentine invasion of the Falklands, my purpose was to see whether his faculties were still in good order. Indeed, it was not so: I had recently seen something of him, and had no doubts on that score. I went to see him because the Prime Minister was convinced (as was I) that he would be the ideal choice for the chairmanship of the inquiry, and we feared that he might, at 77, be a little reluctant to take it on. My purpose in going to see him was to deal face to face with the questions he was bound to want to ask, and to be as persuasive as I could in prevailing upon him to take it on.

I simply asked whether I could come and see him: I did not tell him what I was coming to say. When I arrived, the Prime Minister's request clearly came as no surprise to him: he had worked out for himself the probable reason for my visit. His questions were therefore well prepared and predictably penetrating: if I had had any doubts about his "marbles" before I went, our conversation would have dispelled them. It was also clear that he was minded to agree: he was as one who heard the sound of the trumpet and smelt the battle afar off, though he asked for twenty-four hours in which to reflect before communicating his formal answer.

My first encounter with Oliver Franks was when he was a member of the Radcliffe Committee on the Working of the Monetary System, when I quickly became familiar with his formidable capacity for acquiring, absorbing, marshalling, retaining and summarising complicated facts and arguments. This would appear from the way in which, at the end of a long session of oral evidence, he would sum up in his own words what the witness had been trying, often much less articulately, to say.

At that time he was the chairman of Lloyds Bank, and as such a member of the Committee of London Clearing Bankers. When the representatives of that committee came to give oral evidence to



the Radcliffe Committee Oliver Franks said that he would take no part in the process of putting questions to the witnesses. He was accordingly unworriedly silent, until a moment came when, in response to a series of questions from the economist members of the committee, his banker colleagues seemed to be on the point of saying that raising the bank rate tended to aggravate inflation. Unable to remain silent any longer, Oliver Franks intervened to say, very mildly: "This argument is going rather faster than I can follow." The concept of an argument that could go too fast for Oliver Franks to follow was so inherently implausible that the bankers saw the warning signal and drew back from the brink of the pit.

Your notice recalled his reputation for coldness. He was indeed, in his middle years, an austere and seemingly remote person, and, working with him as secretary of the Radcliffe Committee and later, in the middle 1960s, as secretary of his committee on the pay of the higher civil service, I was certainly much in awe of him. In his later years either he mellowed or I was less overawed, or perhaps a little of both: however that might be, he came to be an easy, comfortable and stimulating companion and friend.

Oliver Franks was one of that rare, perhaps now extinct, breed of outstanding public servants who were sons of clericalism, who seemed destined for a distinguished academic career until the onset of war brought with it the opportunity to exercise their skills and talents on a wider scene, but for whom the university remained a spiritual (and in his case also an actual) home. I fear that you may well be right in thinking that we shall not see his like again.

Lord Armstrong

## DR ADELINO DA PALMA CARLOS

Dr Adelino da Palma Carlos, former prime minister of Portugal, died in Lisbon on October 25 aged 87. He was born in Faro on March 3, 1905.

ADELINO da Palma Carlos was briefly prime minister of Portugal after the bloodless coup of April 25, 1974. This overthrew the dictatorship of Dr Marcello Caetano which had, together with its predecessor under Dr Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, ruled Portugal for more than forty years. General Spínola, the coup's driving force and the country's first president in the wake of it, appointed Palma Carlos as his first prime minister in a provisional government and promised liberal reforms.

But Palma Carlos, an independent republican, like many of his socialist and communist colleagues in the new government, found Spínola's approach to reform far too cautious for his taste. Arguments arose over the delay in preparing legislation on such subjects as the trade unions, the right to strike and freedom for Portugal's overseas territories. On July 10,

1974, Palma Carlos and four of his ministers resigned.

Palma Carlos had been a highly respected lawyer during the years of dictatorship in Portugal and had defended many well-known opponents of the Salazar regime. He was one of the old guard, with affinities with the men who had originally attempted to set up the first Republic in Portugal after the assassination, in 1908, of King Carlos and his heir Luis Felipe, and the subsequent bloodless overthrow, in 1910, of Portugal's last king, Manuel II.

While still a law student at Lisbon University, he helped, in 1923, to organise the Liga da Mocidade Republicana—a student organisation aimed at combating the instability and chaos that was threatening the very existence of the republic. Their efforts were in vain. In 1926 the army deposed the government in a bloodless coup and two years later Salazar became finance minister. In 1932 he became prime minister with dictatorial powers, a post he retained until 1968 when Caetano succeeded him.

During these years Palma Carlos helped noted opponents of the regime, including the general who led a revolt on May 28, 1926, and such men as Norton de Matos, Vasco da Gama Fernandes and João Soares, father of Portugal's present president Mário Soares.

His activities cost him dearly. In 1927 he was removed from a post he held at the Institute of Criminology and in 1935 was prevented from taking exams to join the Law Faculty at Lisbon University.

In the event, when the chance came for political power after the Portuguese armed forces overthrew the dictatorship in 1974, Palma Carlos resigned after only 56 days as prime minister. Besides wanting elections and a provisional constitution, he opposed the granting of independence to Portugal's African territories unless elections were also held there.

He continued to be active in politics, however. Between 1980 and 1986 he was a member of the consulting committee for the Democratic Renewal Party founded by President Ramalho Eanes.



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## MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

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## FLATSHARE

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## UNDER THE CLOCK



## NEWS

## Major face to face with rebels

■ John Major will attempt to save his Maastricht strategy — and his own position — in a series of face to face meetings with rebel backbench MPs. He has also asked to address the key backbench 1992 committee when it meets tomorrow night.

■ Mr Major spent much of yesterday closeted with advisers in an attempt to measure the strength of the Tory forces ranged against him. He has to decide between a full-scale confrontation and a compromise. Pages 1, 2, 16, 17

## Officials blamed for coal debacle

Senior civil servants have paid the price for last week's debacle over pit closures. Robert Priddle, the deputy secretary in charge of energy policy at the trade and industry department, has been moved to a new post. Pages 1, 7

## Danish opt-outs

Denmark's Conservative-Liberal minority government is due to present parliament today with a draft "national compromise" for reversing the Danes' rejection of the Maastricht treaty. It calls for special protocols allowing Denmark to opt out of plans for joint EC currency, defence, citizenship and law enforcement. Page 2

## Orkney failure

Child care and social workers failed to keep an open mind when investigating allegations of organised abuse in Orkney, a critical report by Lord Clyde concludes. They acted quickly and irrationally and did not consider an alternative to taking the children into care. Page 3

## Surgical success

Edmonton police sergeant Bob Window, who lost a hand after being attacked with a samurai sword, has an excellent chance of a good recovery, according to the consultant plastic surgeon who helped seal the hand back on in an 11½-hour operation. Page 4

## Missile mark-up

Government researchers are about to study the cost-effectiveness of buying or developing an anti-ballistic missile system to counter threats from any potentially hostile Third World countries within 1,874 miles of Britain. Such a programme would add several billion pounds to the overstretched defence budget. Page 6

## Top tycoon with the lovable touch

A former dispatch rider who started a delivery company he sold for £50 million has been named Britain's most romantic tycoon by Mills & Boon, publisher of heart-throb novels. Richard Gabriel feels flattered, and his girl friend confirmed his ideal image. "He took me to Venice for a long weekend; he's taking me to Paris in his private jet". Page 7

## Beard trouble

A Muslim schoolboy aged 15 is demanding an apology from the headmaster of his London school and compensation after being banned from lessons for several weeks for refusing to shave off his beard, which he says is part of his religious and cultural tradition. Page 6

## Nuclear defence

British Nuclear Fuels, fighting compensation claims by two families in which the father worked at Sellafield and a child developed cancer, argued in the High Court that the plant was the most closely monitored environment in the country and any connection with childhood cancer was coincidental. Page 7

## Perot under fire

Ross Perot's challenge for the White House appeared to have gone on the rocks as he came under withering attack from all sides for bizarre allegations of Republican dirty tricks. Bill Clinton's aides predicted that the Texan's late surge would fade, leaving the Democrat well ahead of President Bush. Page 10

## Coups feared

Fears of a possible right-wing coup grew in Lithuania after the electoral victory of the former Communists. Algirdas Brazauskas, despite the probability of a clear parliamentary majority for his Labour party, is being careful to emphasise his desire for a broad coalition. Page 12



Sidelined: the Ukrainian liner Belorussia lies on its side at Singapore after its dry dock tilted as water was being drained out

## BUSINESS

Pit speculation: Private mining groups and miners are eyeing the 31 collieries scheduled for closure by British Coal. Malcolm Edwards, British Coal's former commercial director, is heading a consortium to try to lease four pits in South Yorkshire. Page 21

CBI: British manufacturing confidence has been boosted by what seems the brightest outlook for exports since 1987. Page 21

German slowdown: Western Germany's economy will grow by 0.5 per cent next year, according to a report by five leading economic research institutes. The gloomy outlook would scupper the government's plans to cut the budget deficit. Page 23

## SPORT

Boxing: Joe Suleiman, president of the World Boxing Council, said that the winner of the bout next month between Evander Holyfield, world heavyweight champion, and Riddick Bowe, must not defend against anyone other than the winner of the final eliminator between Lennox Lewis of Britain and Donovan "Razor" Ruddock of Canada in London on Saturday. Page 40

## MODERN TIMES

Parabasing the ball: The Rugby Football Union, for long a mute appeaser of apartheid, is worried, with good reason, that rugby may again be the black sheep. Page 14

## LOOKS

Female bonding: Every woman knows that dressing to pass muster with women friends is far more subtle, demanding and rewarding than dressing to please a man — easy by comparison. Page 15

## HOMES

Unhappy families: What happens when a marriage breaks up but the family home will not sell? A report on the "caged couples". Page 33

Opera: Why are new British operas not reaching the mainstream after their premieres? Page 29

Reviews: Theatre: Wedekind's two Lulu plays (translated by Edward Bond and Elisabeth Pabst) at the Lillian Baylis Theatre. Page 30

Rock: Ambient/Rave duo The Orb at the Britten Academy. Page 30

Concerts: RPO/Ashkenazy: Shostakovich Symphony No 10 gets a tremendous performance at the Festival Hall. Page 30

Opinion: Peter Barnard questions the BBC's right to a 24-hour news service. Page 29

Film: David Robinson reports from the Geneva Film Festival. Page 31

## Monty's curse?

Minor, minor: When Harold Lloyd heard that David Montgomery had been made chief executive of Mirror Group Newspapers, his thoughts turned to Gothic horror stories. He was reminded of those tales in which the heir inherits a great estate but has to contend with the curse which has destroyed his predecessors. Page 32

Shopped out: As King Wenches slips on his furry boots and prepares to sally forth on his seasonal trudge through the snow, advertising men are slipping on their festive flak jackets in preparation for the seasonal attack from truculent parents. Page 32

## Tonight's choice

The actor-director Kenneth Griffith, never knowingly guilty of objectivity, celebrates the life of Roger Casement in *Timewatch* (BBC 2). And Alan Whicker fails to extract much information from the Sultan of Brunei (ITV). Page 39

## Ways of escape

Europe was the proximate cause of Margaret Thatcher's downfall. John Major appears bent on courting, quite gratuitously, a similar fate. Ranged though they now are on opposite sides of the Tory barricades, a disturbing parallel can already be drawn between two leaders who allowed the tenacious defence of principle to degenerate into stubborn adherence to outworn dogma. Page 17

## Major must go...

Paul Johnson: I gave John Major a generous honeymoon, and when I was disturbed by some of his earlier actions, I allowed him the benefit of the doubt. More: his courageous election victory against the odds aroused my warm admiration. But during the summer and autumn the conviction that he has the qualities to be prime minister, especially a Conservative one, has gradually been undermined, and has now collapsed completely. I believe he should go — without delay. Page 16

## Major will stay...

Simon Jenkins: John Major had his referendum on Maastricht on Monday night. It was rather a good one. The question was not a crude yes or no. It was framed to reflect shades of opinion, including confidence in the government generally. The result is awaited, but 'exit polls' suggest a clear outcome. The British people might one day ratify the treaty, but not yet and not until they are convinced that they must. Page 16

The President of the Royal College of Nursing says that the Tomlinson report on hospital closures offers an opportunity to address the needs of patients in inner London by expanding community-based facilities. Page 17

'Mr Patten knows he can proceed only if he can claim a popular mandate. Now the poker game is beginning to resemble a round of Russian roulette. — South China Morning Post



A nervous Boris Yeltsin has moved to ban a coalition of left and right-wing activists who have vowed to remove him from power. Page 12



Helmut Kohl, the German chancellor, has come under fire from his finance minister for his austerity plans, which include higher taxes. Page 12

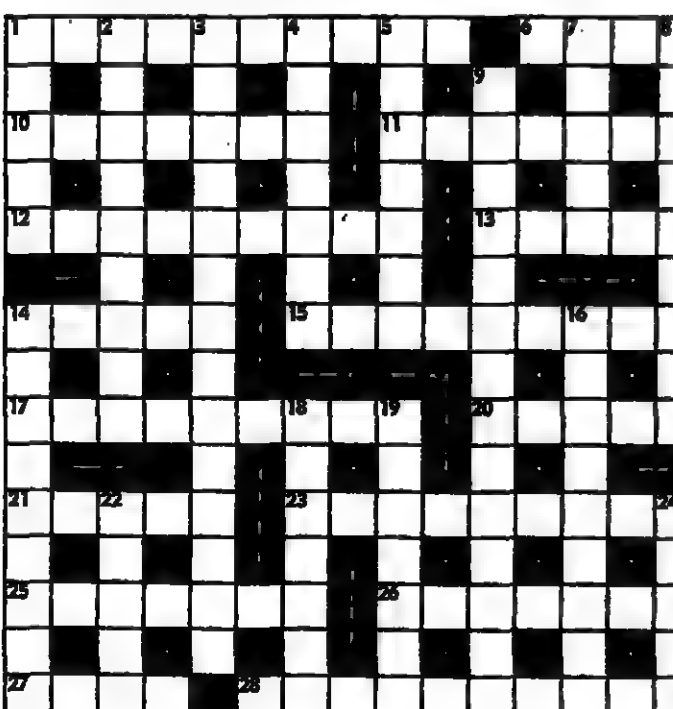


John Glenn, 71, first American to orbit Earth, accused a Republican challenger for his Senate seat of running a dirty campaign full of lies. Page 10



Graeme Souness, Liverpool manager, suffered another setback when he was banned by UEFA from the touchline for five European fixtures. Page 40

## THE TIMES CROSSWORD NO 19,061



## ACROSS

- 1 Wavering light from faulty MIG with green (10).
- 6 Deliver for nothing (4).
- 10 Still examination for a university girl (7).
- 11 Struggle with pages in large letters (7).
- 12 Put Australian port first — one for natural selection (9).
- 13 Royal family the first to espouse foreign poet (5).
- 14 Charge for cattle-feed is a burden (5).
- 15 Those voting about a bishop's abrupt change of policy (4-5).
- 17 Oarsman strips off and spars (9).
- 20 It holds up a picture during production (5).
- 21 Unfinished book shelf (5).

## Solution to Puzzle No 19,060

HANDSOME SLACKS  
U E E U A T  
S M E L V I N G S C O R E R  
S D E D H R D A  
A L L I N O F N E W M I N D  
R I D E F O R A F A L L  
E S E S S E S E  
P R A I S E W O R T H Y  
I N A B M G  
O E S T R O Y E R L A M A  
B E R A S I O N N  
M E R L I N A Q U I S I D E  
I T S H O G E  
P E R S T R E A M E R

- 23 Have a good look, say, at this column about the case (9).
- 25 Poor Uncle Remus originally received a reaction of this kind (7).
- 26 Appealing to the king in Beilal, perhaps (7).
- 27 School friend using a compass point (4).
- 28 An adjustable spanner (10).

## DOWN

- 1 King with noble (5).
- 2 Question from audience (9).
- 3 The simple hopes destroyed by Faust's purchaser (14).
- 4 Frost speaking first as a poet (7).
- 5 He denies putting up the duty list information (7).
- 6 Fend off outcast when he comes up (5).
- 8 For example, fire's component part is over a pound (9).
- 9 Union fixer who is paid by results (8-6).
- 14 A doctor beginning to use the knife — it's to deliver the patient (9).
- 16 Where to look for pearls in the imaginative Bede story (6-3).
- 18 Underwriter on the spot but certainly right (7).
- 19 Justice in Shakespeare is superficial (7).
- 22 Bob's in trousers (5).
- 24 Falsify return, say, to superior (5).

Concise Crossword, page 40

## TIMES WEATHERCAST

For the latest region by region forecast, 24 hours a day, dial 0801 500 followed by the appropriate code.

Greater London	701
Kent, Surrey, Sussex	702
Dorset, Devon & Cornwall	703
Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Somerset	704
Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire	705
Bedfordshire & Hertfordshire	706
Northamptonshire, Cambridgeshire	707
West Midlands & Shropshire & Cheshire	708
Shropshire, Lancashire & Yorkshire	709
Central Midlands	710
East Midlands	711
Lincolnshire & Humberside	712
Dyfed & Pembrokeshire	713
Gloucestershire & Wiltshire	714
W & S Yorkshire & Wales	715
W & S Yorkshire & Wales	716
Cumbria & Lancashire	717
W & S Scotland	718
Edinburgh & Fife	719
Edinburgh & Fife	720
Edinburgh & Fife	721
Edinburgh & Fife	722
Edinburgh & Fife	723
Edinburgh & Fife	724
Edinburgh & Fife	725
Edinburgh & Fife	726
Edinburgh & Fife	727
Edinburgh & Fife	728
Edinburgh & Fife	729
Edinburgh & Fife	730

Weathercast is charged at 30p per minute (cheap rate) and 40p per minute at all other times.

## AA ROADWATCH

For the latest AA traffic and roadworks information, 24 hours a day, dial 0836 401 followed by the appropriate code.

London & M25 traffic, roadworks	731
C. London (within N & S Circles)	732
M-ways/roads M4-M1	733
M-ways/roads M1-Dartford T	734
M-ways/roads M23-M4	735
M25 London Orbital only	736
National traffic and roadworks	737
National motorways	738
West Country	739
Wales	740
Midlands	741
East Anglia	742
North-west England	743
North-east England	744
Scotland	745
Northern Ireland	746

AA Roadwatch is charged at 30p per minute (cheap rate) and 40p per minute at all other times.

## WEATHER

England and Wales will start dry, bright and cool but cloud will develop bringing showers by late morning. The showers will become heavier, more widespread and perhaps with hail and thunder. Scotland will have more prolonged rain and perhaps fog patches in more southern districts. Outlook: England and Wales will continue to be cool and showery with widespread ground frost by night. Scotland will be cloudy with more general rain.

## MIDLANDS

Area	Temp	Wind	Cloud	Precip
Alcester	21	10	10	0.0
Alford	21	10	10	0.0
Alton	21	10	10	0.0
Alton	21	10	10	0.0
Alton	21	10	10	0.0
Alton	21	10	10	0.0
Alton	21	10	10	0.0
Alton	21	10	10	0.0
Alton	21	10	10	0.0
Alton	21	10	10	0.0

## SOUTH

Area	Temp	Wind	Cloud	Precip
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0

## EAST

Area	Temp	Wind	Cloud	Precip
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0

## NORTH

Area	Temp	Wind	Cloud	Precip
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0

## WEST

Area	Temp	Wind	Cloud	Precip
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0

## TEMPERATURES

Area	Temp	Wind	Cloud	Precip
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0

## HIGHEST &amp; LOWEST

Area	Temp	Wind	Cloud	Precip
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0

## MANCHESTER

Area	Temp	Wind	Cloud	Precip
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0

## GLASGOW

Area	Temp	Wind	Cloud	Precip
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0
Abingdon	21	10	10	0.0



London 4.41 pm to 5.49 am  
Edinburgh 4.41 pm to 5.49 am  
Glasgow 4.41 pm to 5.49 am  
Preston 5.49 pm to 7.07 am







## Bridport maintains dividend

By MARTIN WALLER  
DEPUTY CITY EDITOR

BRIDPORT-GUNDRY, the nets and rope maker, held the fall in pre-tax profits at £34,000, to £751,000, in the year to end-July. Last time, the company benefited from sales of £5 million-worth of camouflage netting during the Gulf war. A final dividend of 2.6p maintains the total payout at 4.1p.

Patrick Darley, chairman, said the company had withdrawn from the American fishing industry and rationalised net-making in Britain. It expects to cut the proportion of sales to the fishing sector from more than 40 per cent to less than 15 per cent by the end of this financial year. The group is concentrating on sutures, aviation and defence.

Mr Darley said a high percentage of the company's products were exported, and lower exchange rates were welcome.

Historically, the first half of the year was poor, he said, and this trend would be accentuated by restructuring, but the benefits would flow through into the second half and be reflected in results for the year as a whole.

## Competition will force more cuts at banks



Tough times: Hilmar Kopfer, who says there must be no taboos in banking

By NEIL BENNETT  
BANKING CORRESPONDENT

EUROPEAN banks will continue to shed staff and close branches as competition in the financial markets increases, according to the head of Deutsche Bank, one of Europe's most powerful banks.

Hilmar Kopfer, Deutsche's chairman, also attacked his own and other governments for undermining international bank capital regulations. He blamed the pressure of these regulations for an international credit crunch.

Herr Kopfer was giving the annual Gilbert Lecture at King's College London last night. He said that deregulation and international harmonisation would increase competition among banks. "More competition and lower margins are making intensive cost management imperative. There must be no taboos, either in branch banking or staffing. The rapid expansion of the last decade caused cost aspects to be sidelined and many banks to put on weight," he said.

He added that the changes would put increasing pressure on the 10,000 banks in

### Borrowers face a growing credit crunch as banks compete for prudent low risk lending

Europe, but said that niches for smaller banks would continue to exist.

Like other bankers and financiers, he believes that there is a growing credit crunch facing borrowers, as banks compete for low risk lending and ignore higher risk proposals. He said that in the past four years American banks have increased government securities holdings by \$235 billion, but cut commercial lending by \$20 billion.

"Competition for the good risk is in full swing. Business volume is taking a back seat to the prudent calculation of earnings and risk," Herr Kopfer said.

He criticised countries, including Germany, which help banks to meet capital requirements. "In Germany, the regional banks can draw on governments for the necessary infusion of funds... and even the banks in Japan are

being helped with their problems through special state assistance.

"I regard equality of treatment of the procurement of capital as essential. Without progress here, there will ultimately be no competition in the proper sense of the free market economy," he said.

Herr Kopfer tried to play down the common perception of the power of the German banks. He said that Deutsche Bank's share of the banking market is only 6 per cent, far smaller than similar banks in other European countries, and the banks only hold 28 per cent of household savings, and just 0.5 per cent of the equity of non-financial companies. In his speech, he stressed that the German banks have influence rather than real power in the economy.

On European developments, Herr Kopfer repeated his view that there would be a two-speed approach to monetary union. "I cannot imagine European integration without the United Kingdom. Europe without the political culture of the British parliamentary system, the British way of life and the London financial centre would be a torso," he said.

## Levercrest shares fall on rescue rights issue

By PHILIP PANGALOS

SHARES in Levercrest tumbled from 39p to 19p after the maker of playground equipment and safety surfaces announced a change in direction as well as hefty losses and a deeply-discounted rescue rights issue.

Leslie and Anne Cluer, who founded the company, are making way for new management and raising new capital. The first company, floated on the LSE in 1990 at 108p a share, is making about £1.3 million through a 13-for-1 rights issue, at 10p a share. The issue is underwritten by County NatWest and institutions are understood to have taken up the shares.

The proceeds will go towards rationalisation and to reduce debts. Before the rights issue, the company breached some of its banking covenants, but directors do not anticipate that any further breaches of the borrowing limit will occur.

Mr Cluer is to step down as chairman and joint managing director and will become a consultant. His wife will stay on the board, but will resign as joint managing director. Their 65 per cent stake will be diluted to about 21 per cent.

Ian Orrick will become chairman and a 19 per cent shareholder. Levercrest will become a holding company renamed Rosspur and will move to a full listing and seek engineering acquisitions.

The fundraising should enable Levercrest to fulfil its potential, Mr Orrick said.

Levercrest made a pre-tax loss of £755,000 in the 15 month period to end-May, against a restated loss of £364,000 last time. Turnover stood at £5.46 million (£5.52 million). The company suffered through a lack of financial controls and a lack of professional management, Mr Orrick added.

The losses are blamed mainly on a lack of demand during the recession and a "substantial" loss caused by the theft of raw materials and finished products from the company's factory. An investigation has been launched by the police and two former employees have been arrested. It is thought about £200,000 worth of stock went missing.

There is a £54,000 exceptional restructuring charge and a loss of 13.6p (5.9p loss) a share. The dividend is again being passed.

## Director buys AB offshoot

By OUR CITY STAFF

AB Electronic Products, the recession-hit components group in takeover talks with IT Group, a 6.4 per cent shareholder, is selling its Swansea Industrial Components business for £2.74 million.

The loss-making company is being sold to Thomas Roberts, who will resign from AB's board once the deal is complete. The sale is conditional on shareholder approval.

Swansea Industrial Components, which makes electrical wiring harnesses for the computer, automotive, domestic appliance and entertainment industries, made a loss of £1.3 million in the year to end-June, out of a turnover of £12.4 million and net assets of £4.8 million. The company employs 600 people and operates from three sites in South Wales. As part of the deal, Mr Roberts is buying land in Swansea. AB will use the proceeds to cut debts.

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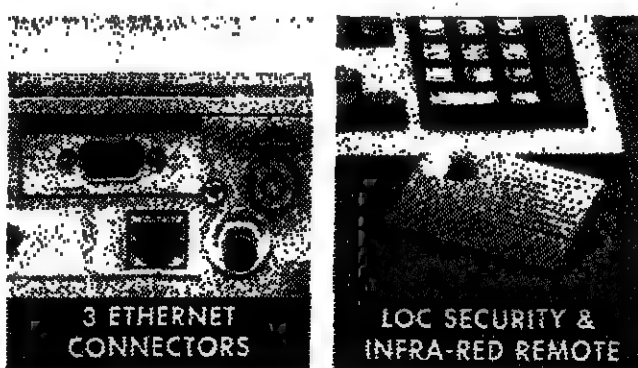
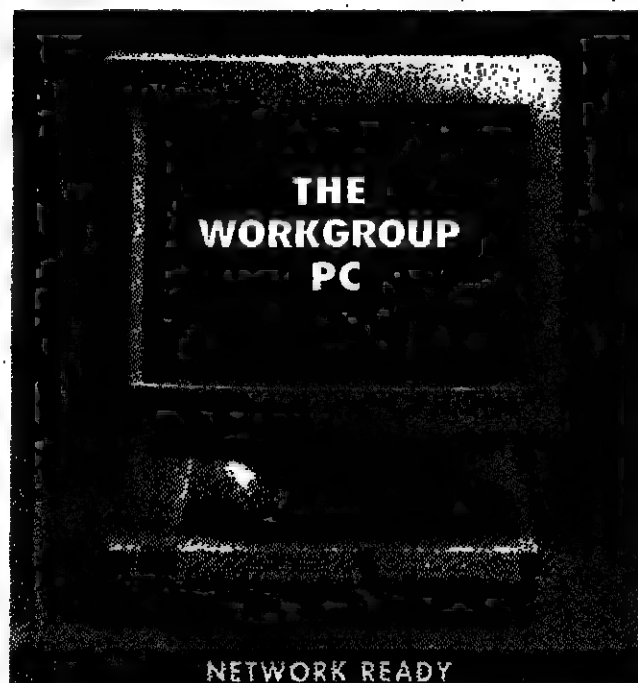
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## GrandMet and Spanish sherry maker may link

INTERNATIONAL Distillers & Vintners, Grand Metropolitan's wines and spirits division, is considering a link and a share stake in Gonzalez Byass, producer of Tio Pepe sherry. Gonzalez was formed in 1835 by an alliance of the Gonzalez family, of Jerez in southern Spain, and the English Byass family, who then shipped coal and beer to Australia. The Gonzalez family bought out the 38 per cent Byass stake in 1988 after the company bought out takeovers from Seagram and Guinness.

Gonzalez and GrandMet said they were discussing a closer relationship, which would include an international distribution deal and involve IDV taking an equity stake. No further information would be made available until negotiations had been concluded. The companies have been linked before - Gonzalez used to supply sherries to GrandMet until the 1960s when IDV started producing its own.

## Pressac lifts profits

PRESSAC Holdings, the Nottingham manufacturer of automotive, telecommunications and lighting components, reported pre-tax profits of £1.84 million (£1.82 million) in the year to end-July. Turnover was £33.7 million (£34.5 million). Earnings per share were 4.7p (5.38p). An unchanged final dividend of 1.65p a share makes a total for the year of 2.4p (2.36p). About 170 jobs were lost during the year at a cost of £177,000 in redundancy payments. The number of employees has fallen by 670 since 1988.

## British Syphon ahead

IMPROVED margins and higher interest receipts helped British Syphon Industries, the industrial group, lift first-half profits 11.3 per cent, despite a 14 per cent decline in sales. Pre-tax profits at the Cheshire company climbed to £3.02 million in the six months to end-June, on sales down to £19.7 million. The balance sheet remains strong, with net cash of more than £30 million. Interest received rose to £1.5 million (£1.36 million). Earnings were 5.9p a share (5.3p). There is an interim dividend of 2p (nil).

## Xerox improves

XEROX Corp said third-quarter net income rose about 11 per cent and credited its document processing strategy and new products for the rise. The company earned \$135 million or \$1.18 a share, after pre-tax capital gains of \$444 million and restructuring provisions of the same amount related to its Crum and Forster Insurance unit, on revenues of \$4.47 billion, compared with \$121 million or \$1.06 a share on revenues of \$4.28 billion.

## TI appoints Edwards

TI Group has confirmed the appointment of Tony Edwards, the director whose departure after just eight months has sparked reports of a boardroom row at Lucas Industries, a fellow engineering group. Mr Edwards will be chief executive of Dowty, the aerospace business that TI took over this year for £509 million. He quit as managing director at Lucas after he was passed over as chief executive.



## Surprise rise in US growth leaves Wall Street sceptical

By COLIN NARBOROUGH  
ECONOMICS CORRESPONDENT

A SURPRISE rise in American growth was quickly hailed by President Bush as "very encouraging" but failed to convince Wall Street that the economy has really started to accelerate.

The commerce department figures on gross domestic product, issued yesterday, were the last important economic data before the election on November 3. They showed that GDP grew an annual 2.7 per cent in the third quarter, up sharply from the 1.5 per cent rise reported in the second quarter.

Importantly for Mr Bush's tarnished reputation on the economic front, the third quarter was much stronger than predicted and took the economy back above the output peak reached in the second quarter of 1990, recovering all the ground lost in the nine-month recession

■ After 18 months of lacklustre recovery the Bush administration sees signs of real revival

that followed. But Mr Bush's attempt to highlight that America had now experienced six consecutive quarters of growth left many economists unconvinced about the durability of the third-quarter pick-up. The pace of the recovery remains the slowest since the Depression of the thirties, with growth rates well below those of earlier rebounds.

Consumer confidence this month fell for the fourth straight month, with increasing concern about jobs, according to the latest Conference Board report. Its closely followed index fell to 53, down 4.3 points from September.

Of crucial importance to the

election battle, the recovery in output has yet to make a dent in unemployment. Last month, the number of people unemployed was still nearly two million higher than before the recession.

Angus Armstrong, economist at Morgan Grenfell, found the GDP data "very hard to believe" and predicted that they would be revised down to below 2 per cent. With real incomes and the savings rate falling, persistent fear of unemployment, and declining confidence, he said it was difficult to see what could sustain growth.

Gwyn Hache, economist at James Capel, said America might now have its head above water, but he doubted whether consumption would pick up much until a fiscal boost was introduced early next year. He said growth remained poor by American standards, but the figures showed the skill of the Federal Reserve Board in keeping the economy going, despite the debt overhang.

A strong burst in consumer spending, up an annual 3.4 per cent, boosted GDP growth in the third quarter to its strongest since the 2.9 per cent seen in the first quarter. Consumer spending dipped 0.1 per cent in the second quarter after a first-quarter surge of 5.1 per cent. Spending on durable goods was up 8.6 per cent last quarter, probably a reflection of the improvement in housing feeding through into demand for home appliances and furniture.

The strongest government spending for seven quarters, partly due to Hurricane Andrew, helped, as did higher defence spending. But increased stockholding prompted concern, as it could be unwound this quarter, threatening back production. A further fall in net exports was another source of concern.

Barbara Franklin, the commerce secretary, said the growth data showed America was ready to lead the world out of recession. She admitted that third-quarter growth had exceeded her expectations and saw the consumer spending element of the figures indicating an increase in consumer confidence.

## Payout risk drives GM shares lower

FROM PHILIP ROBINSON IN NEW YORK

WALL Street raised the spectre of a further dividend cut at General Motors yesterday after the abrupt departure of Robert Stempel, the chairman, and fresh estimates that 23 per cent of GM's North American workforce is to be shed to cut costs.

GM shares fell \$1.25 to \$33, at which level they yield 4.7 per cent. Maryann Keller, author of a book on GM and an analyst with Furrman Selz, the stockbroker, said the yield was so high because "the dividend is at risk". GM cut its payout 46 per cent 20 months ago, when losses topped \$2 billion. To maintain its annual rate of \$1.60 costs \$1.1 billion. GM third quarter losses of \$845 million are expected tomorrow.

After Mr Stempel's departure, analysts expect a swift and savage programme of cost cutting. Hazley Shadden, industry expert at the University

of California, San Diego, forecasts 85,000 North American shop floor and office job cuts, out of a workforce of 370,000. That is more than 10,000 more than were due to go in the re-organisation plan unveiled by Mr Stempel almost a year ago. Factory closures are likely to be much higher than the 21 announced under the Stempel plan.

The GM board meeting on Monday is expected to seek the resignations of at least six of Mr Stempel's close lieutenants and elect a new chairman. Front runner is John Smale, former chairman of Procter & Gamble and head of GM's executive committee. Other candidates include John Smith, GM president, and William Hoglund, the group's financial director.

Though Mr Stempel's retirement package is yet to be settled, pay experts say he will get at least \$1 million a year.

## Debt expected to attract buyers

By NEIL BENNETT, BANKING CORRESPONDENT

THE £1 billion auction of government debt in privatised companies is expected to be heavily oversubscribed after BT agreed to bid for at least £750 million of its own debt.

Barings, the merchant bank advising the Treasury on the auction, announced yesterday that the sale would go ahead as planned and that the deadline for companies to pre-register their interest is November 3. Only pre-registered companies will receive details of the auction. The final date for bids is the end of November, but the full timetable is expected to be published

next week. Barings announced that it is converting the BT debt into eurobonds to make it compatible with the company's existing debt issues and increase its attraction to international investors. The bonds will be in bearer, rather than registered, form so they will be more easily tradeable and holders will receive interest payments gross.

The Treasury is offering debt with a nominal value of £3.74 billion in 12 privatised electricity companies and BT. All the debt carries high interest coupons and is expected to sell at a large premium to

its face value. Since the auction was announced, the fall in interest rates is estimated to have increased the value of the debt on offer at least 5 per cent. The government will sell £1 billion of the debt to the highest bidders. The remaining holdings are expected to be offered in future auctions.

The electricity companies' debt will be offered only to the borrowers, but the auction of BT's debt will also be open to banks, brokers and institutions. BT has agreed to bid at least £750 million of its own debt, with a face value of about £600 million.

## Capital adequacy tests regulators

By A CORRESPONDENT

GLOBAL capital adequacy standards for banks and investment firms are provoking a thorny debate among international securities regulators, leading market supervisors said yesterday.

Opening the annual conference of the International Organisation of Securities Commissions, Andrew Large, chairman of the Securities and Investments Board, said he expected capital adequacy to be a tough issue. Commission members have been debating how to set common capital standards for banks and securities firms for three years.

They are hoping for an agreement with world banking regulators at the "Basle Committee of banking supervisors." "This is a difficult exercise, but it is one of profound importance," Mr Large said.

He said banking and securities activities were intermingling more and more, making co-ordinated standards more important.

Topics considered at the four-day London meeting will include market transparency, investor compensation and self-regulation.



Large: difficult exercise

## German slowdown forecast grows louder

By WOLFGANG MÜNCHAU  
EUROPEAN BUSINESS CORRESPONDENT

THE West German economy will grow by only 0.5 per cent next year, according to the autumn report by the country's five leading economic research institutes. The slowdown in economic activity would affect government revenues during the next few years and scupper plans to cut the budget deficit, despite higher taxes and social contributions.

The gloomy outlook for the German economy comes as businessmen are openly talking about recession, although the institutes' report refers merely to an economic downturn. It is also sceptical about the benefits of further tax increases to help finance unification following a recent suggestion by Chancellor Helmut Kohl that he favours a tax rise from 1995 onwards.

The institutes forecast pan-German growth of 1 per cent next year. Pan-

German inflation will this year peak at 5 per cent, and fall to 4.5 per cent next year.

The institutes appear especially concerned about prospects for the east German economy. At the time of reunification, it was thought that it would take east Germany 15 years to catch up with the west at an average annual growth rate of 10 per cent. This year, the eastern German economy grew at only half that rate, and the institutes forecast that next year's figure will be no higher than 7 per cent. This year, about two-thirds of eastern Germany's gross national product is accounted for by transfer payments from the west, but that is expected to fall to about 50 per cent of GNP next year.

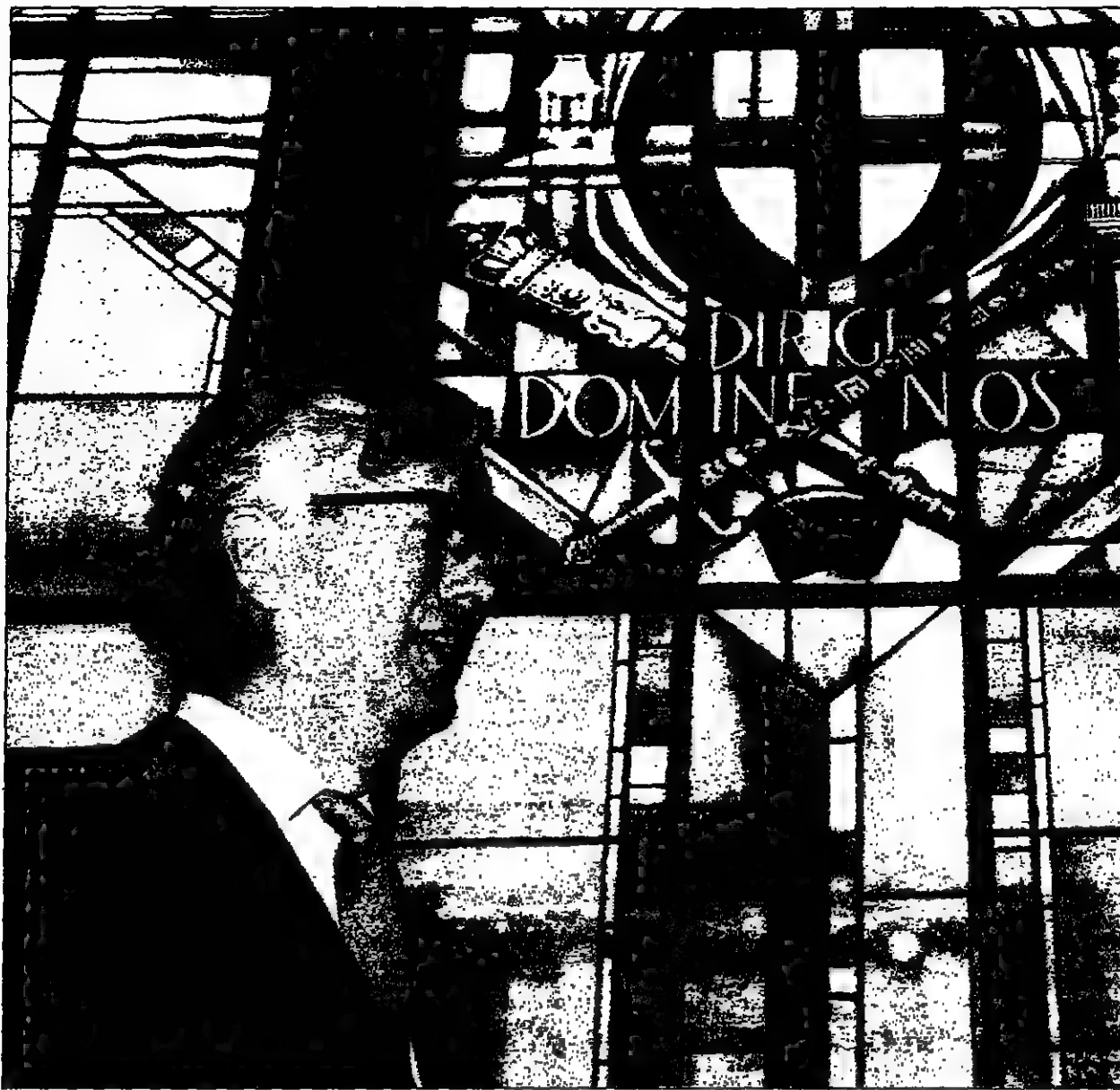
Heiner Flassbeck, head of economics at the DIW institute in Berlin, one of the five to help compile the report, gave a warning yesterday that wage rises should be held below 4 per cent in order to avoid another rise in inflation. The institutes also advised the Bundesbank to relax

monetary policy marginally by increasing the target range for expansion in the money supply. The present range for growth in M3, a measure of broad money supply, should rise from between 3.5 and 5.5 per cent to a central rate of about 7 per cent. This would allow for an inflation rate of about 3 per cent.

The report denied that a 7 per cent growth rate of M3 would involve "giving up a stability-oriented monetary policy. Rather we should temporarily make allowances for the strong administrative determined price increases in east Germany". In September, M3 was up an 9.1 per cent on an annualised basis.

Meanwhile, Otmar Issing, a Bundesbank director, said on German television that the Bundesbank had "room to manoeuvre" in its money market operations, indicating a possible easing of monetary policy.

Comment, page 25



Looking for recovery: Roger Gibbs of Wellcome Trust believes UK stocks are the best long-term investment

## Wellcome Trust banks on equities

By JONATHAN PRYNN

THE Wellcome Trust, one of the largest investors in Britain, is to boost its exposure to equities in anticipation of economic recovery.

Roger Gibbs, chairman of Wellcome Trust, said: "I'd be surprised if we don't see UK interest rates of 6 per cent by next summer. Economic recovery will come and we think equities will be the best long-term investment."

The medical charity netted £2.6 billion by selling a 33.5 per cent stake in Wellcome plc in an international share offer in July. It has a total portfolio worth £6 billion, including its remaining 40 per cent stake in Wellcome. About 80 per cent is invested in British and foreign equities but Mr Gibbs said the trust planned to increase this to up to 90 per cent in the long term.

The trust reduced its stake in Wellcome, a low-yielding stock, to invest in higher yielding shares. "Coming up to the share sale we decided to have a substantial part of our investment in fixed interest, waiting for the opportunity to go into equities." He said the trust seized the chance to buy UK stocks at depressed prices in August. "We felt equities were becoming attractive to a long-term investor."

The trust has invested almost £1 billion in the stock market since late August when the FT-SE 100 index hit the lowest close of the year at 2,281. Since August 25, the index has risen more than 16 per cent on expectation of lower interest rates after sterling left the ERM.

Mr Gibbs would not specify the stocks chosen but said: "We're concentrating on quality earners, particularly those with large overseas earnings." Of the £1 billion invested, £500 million went to Barclays de Zoete Wedd Investment Management index fund.

The trust has re-appointed Fleming Investment Management and Henderson Pension Fund Managers. Baillie Gifford & Co, Gartmore Pension Fund Managers, Hambros Bank, Newton Investment Management, UBS Phillips & Drew Fund Management and Schroder Investment Management are appointed to handle its portfolio.

## BA plans big pay cuts at Gatwick

By HARVEY ELLIOTT  
AIR CORRESPONDENT

MORE than 1,200 British Airways staff at Gatwick have been told that they will have to accept pay cuts of up to 30 per cent if they want to work for the new scheduled airline based on the lingering slump of Dan-Air.

BA said that it will pay compensation for ending the existing contracts of employment and replacing them with new terms and conditions at a much lower rate. Union leaders are worried that the move could prove a "Trojan horse" and lead eventually to big cuts in pay for the entire British Airways workforce.

George Ryde, national secretary of the TGWU which represents more than 1,000 BA staff at Gatwick, said: "So far we have not seen the details and hope to meet management for detailed discussions later this week. We also want to talk to our own members and gauge their feelings before we do anything."

Almost 100 pilots are also employed by BA at Gatwick and have traditionally been paid the same as their colleagues at Heathrow. Now they have been told that they, together with more than 120 who will be joining the new airline will be paid around 10 per cent less than Dan-Air pilots and possible as much as 30 per cent less than their existing pay rates.

British Airways has promised that there will be no compulsory redundancies among its own staff and that anyone who wants to join the new wholly-owned subsidiary operating from Gatwick will be paid "redundancy" and then re-hired at the new lower rates. Those who do not wish to take advantage of the offer may either take early retirement or move to Heathrow.

BA took over Dan-Air last Friday for a nominal payment of £1 and said it would be closing down the charter operation and retaining only around 400 of Dan-Air's 2,000 staff. The Office of Fair Trading is now investigating the take-over.

## Dan-Air fate sealed in August

By MARTIN WALLER, DEPUTY CITY EDITOR

THE fate of Dan-Air was sealed in August, when the banks reined in the company's borrowing limits to match their private assessment of its break-up value, according to David James, chairman of Davies & Newman.

The banks brought in Touche Ross, the accountant, to produce a break-up value estimate and as a consequence cut the company's borrowing ability to £17 million, he said. From then on, as autumn approached when debts would rise, the survival of Davies & Newman, the holding company, hung on an alliance with another airline or a cash injection from shareholders.

Both were attempted, but too few institutions were prepared to back a rights issue, while an approach from Richard Branson, head of Virgin, failed to result in a deal. The sale of much of the airline to British Airways, for a nominal £1 in return for taking on liabilities, left shareholders with nothing. Mr James said once it was clear they would receive no return whatever happened, and the only alternative was receivership, he had no choice by law but to safeguard creditors' interests.

The banks had secured loans outstanding of more than £22 million, and trade and other unsecured creditors were owed £43 million. All this last sum would have been lost if the company went into receivership, he said. Davies & Newman had net assets after last year's refinancing of £40 million, but trading losses had cut this to £24 million. It faced a £23 million redundancy bill and £16 million would be lost on aircraft sales.

A further £11 million could be expected to flow out from this autumn's trading losses. All this gave the assets being sold a negative value of more than £20 million to BA once the new owner took control, at the earliest at the start of next year. Given the alternative of financial collapse for Davies & Newman, BA "had the company over a barrel" during the talks, he said.

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## German news is getting worse

Joy over a gradual easing of German interest rates is marred by the prospect that the country is about to enter a long and deep recession. For Germany's European neighbours this would probably amount to the worst economic news from Germany since reunification. It could even be worse than the high interest rates which have plagued the rest of Europe over the last two years. High interest rates may have been unpleasant, but if Germans stop buying, the French stop working.

A German recession will also have important implications for British exporters, despite temporary relief from the devalued pound. The two countries have strong economic links. Britain is Germany's favourite location for direct investment in Europe. Germany is Britain's largest European export market. A German recession could not only deepen the British slump, it could considerably delay the timing of the recovery. In a strange sort of way, a German recession would amount to an important contribution towards the process of European convergence, of a kind that we can all do without.

Yesterday, Germany's leading economic research institutes concluded in their autumn report that the state of the German economy was "critical". By this they mean that the west German economy will grow at only 0.5 per cent in real terms next year. While such a growth figure does not point to a recession as such, the statistical possibility of such an event remains clearly within the margin of error normally inherent in forecasts. Perhaps more significant is that the German business community is already convinced that a recession is under way.

The real cause for concern is not merely the long-awaited downturn in the business cycle, but the impotence of the German government to confront these difficulties. The most recent evidence of Herr Kohl's confused economic policy is his pledge to raise taxes if re-elected in 1994. At best this may marginally reduce the burgeoning public sector deficit. But the tax hike would come at the tail end of a recession and would be an economic mistake.

What Germany needs more than anything else is a return to fiscal prudence. This is naturally easier said than done. The government needs to take some painful decisions beyond the mere symbolic sacrifice of the European fighter aircraft. Social spending will need to be pruned, and so will the country's mollycoddled public sector. The country also needs urgent labour market reforms. Chancellor Kohl was right when he remarked that Germans are living beyond their means. The trouble is that he does not know how to achieve the necessary savings in the federal and the state budgets. In the meantime, we can expect the news to get worse, much worse, before it gets better.

## Building flattened

Just about any body that is anybody in the construction industry joined forces to plead with the Chancellor for a helping hand yesterday. He should listen carefully. Builders and their associated professional partners have been among the sectors most badly hit by the recession. At the smaller end of the business, high mortgage rates and falling domestic property prices have put paid to an alarming number of housebuilders. The surplus of office and commercial development in the late 1980's has savaged activity among larger scale builders and there is no apparent end to the famine. One of Britain's largest property developers tells anyone who cares to ask: "we have put away our cranes." They need to be put to work again by lower interest rates and state spending on capital infrastructure. The autumn statement should be about cutting public sector pay, not public sector investment.

# Minor market stars can continue to perform on the small screen

Michael Clark looks at the arrival of Seats, a computerised trading system that throws a lifeline to smaller companies

Hundreds of smaller company chairmen will this week mark the anniversary of Big Bang, breathing a huge sigh of relief that the threat to delist the shares in their companies has been lifted. Starting next month, a new trading system will be introduced by the London Stock Exchange designed to cope with the problem of illiquidity among smaller companies, particularly those currently enjoying a quotation on the Unlisted Securities Market.

The problem had been brought about by rules introduced in the deregulation of the Stock Exchange to give an open dealing system.

The Stock Exchange Alternative Trading Service (Seats) has now been created after intense lobbying by the Stock Exchange by various market-makers, fund managers and brokers anxious to find an alternative to the Bulletin Board, a system of trading between brokers on a matched bargain basis.

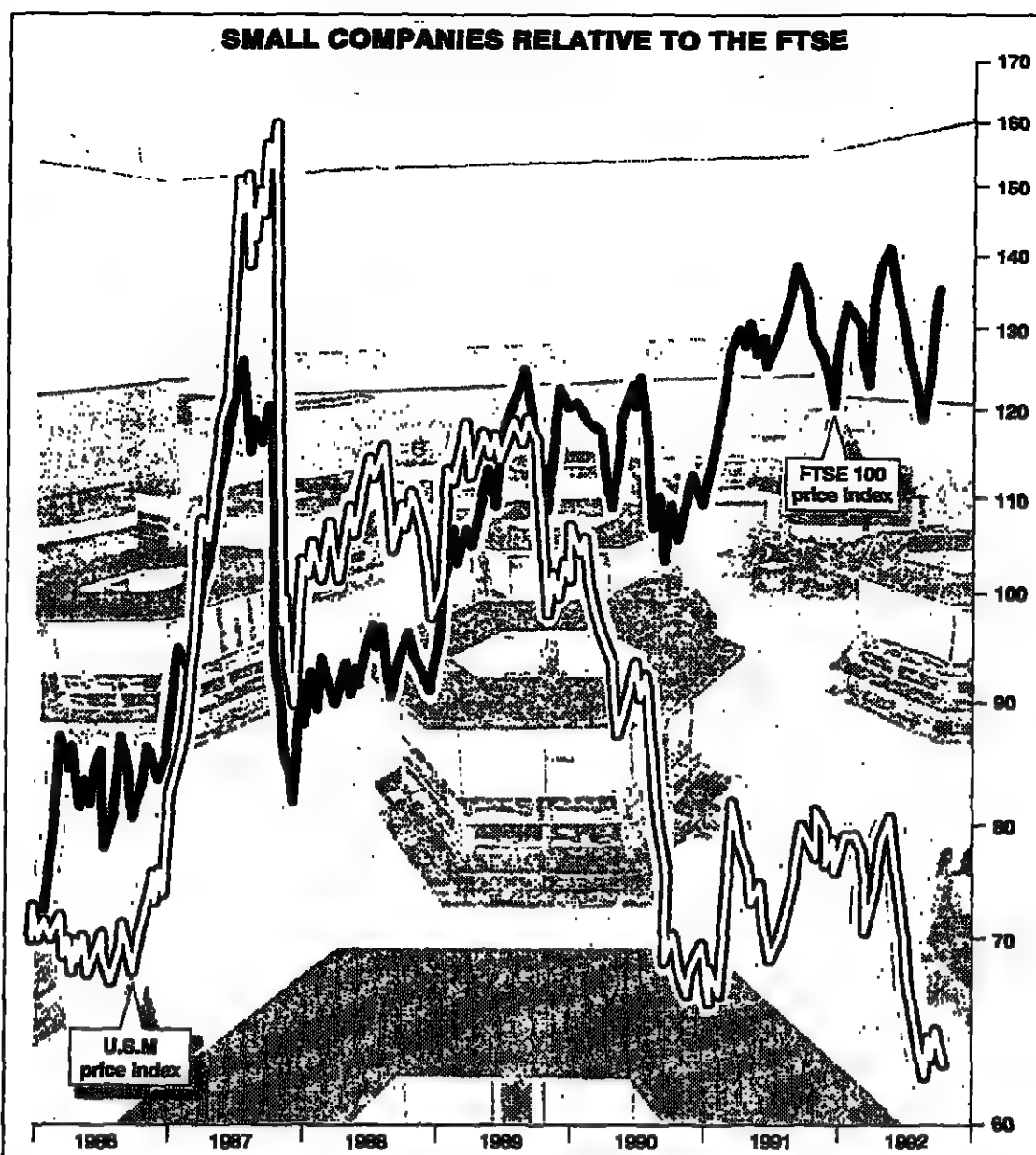
Under the existing rules, USM companies that do not have two market-makers making competitive prices in their shares would be relegated to the Bulletin Board.

Seats is a screen-based trading system which allows a single market-maker to trade in the shares. The market-maker will be required to display a bid and offer price at all times and brokers wishing to buy or sell a particular stock will have to reveal their business to the market-maker and allow him or her first refusal. If the market-maker chooses to do the deal, it is executed, depending on the size of the trade, on the bid and offer prices displayed.

The volume of the trade is then logged, but not the price the business was conducted at. This will later be recorded on a five-day rolling settlement basis enabling the market-maker to effectively conceal his current book position relating to that particular stock.

Seats is effectively a return to Rule 90 which governed put-throughs or matched bargains in lines of stock prior to Big Bang. In those days, as with Seats, brokers had to offer the business to the market-maker first. It is hoped that Seats will lead to an improvement of liquidity among smaller firms. However, if liquidity in a particular stock does improve and another market-maker decides to make a competitive price in the shares, the listing will immediately revert to Seats, the screen-based computerised trading system.

The move has been warmly welcomed by the City's investment community. Gary Fitzgerald, managing director of Framlington Investment Management Services, believes it is a step in the right direction. "We welcome the Stock Exchange moves.



With Seats it has covered a lot of the problems with regards to illiquidity at the lower end of the market," he says.

The Bulletin Board will be retained but is only expected to be used by between 50 and 100 companies whose shares are so tightly held that very few of them ever change hands, or by those companies wishing to enjoy a public quotation status in order to raise funds.

The prospect of hundreds of companies being relegated to the Bulletin Board arose when several large securities houses decided to pull out of making markets in many smaller companies. Warburg Securities earned the ball rolling last month when it announced it was ceasing to trade in 360 smaller companies in order to reduce costs. Warburg was quickly followed by County NatWest, which ceased trading in almost 150 stocks, and earlier this month UBS Phillips & Drew cut 160 of the companies it made markets in.

Other securities houses are expected to start cutting back the number of stocks they trade in during the weeks ahead, leaving many companies with just one market-maker making a price in their shares.

Brian Winterlood, chairman of

Winterlood Securities, a subsidiary of Union Discount, which specialises in trading in smaller companies, is pleased with the compromise. "The Bulletin Board was just not the answer. It would not have provided investors and many smaller companies with the service they deserved. Brokers likened it to sticking an order in a shop window and waiting for someone passing by to read it. The problems of illiquidity would have been intensified," he said.

Last week, both Winterlood Securities and rival Smith New Court announced that they would be expanding the number of stocks they covered. Smith has now picked up an extra 90 stocks since the likes of Warburg and County pulled out. Winterlood now covers more than 900 smaller companies.

The Square Mile has been hard hit by the recession with the stock market suffering numerous job losses combined with a sharp drop in turnover, a reduction in corporate activity and an increase in volatility. The drop in turnover in the equity market has affected particularly badly the bottom end of the market

where liquidity problems have always existed.

Dealers complain that the bulk of turnover during the past 18 months has involved the top 350 companies with institutional investors virtually ignoring smaller companies. There is now growing concern among brokers that because of the problem of illiquidity, City institutions may avoid smaller companies permanently.

Fund managers hold mixed views about investing in smaller companies. Some see it as the chance to achieve high returns from fledgling companies reckoned to be the growth stocks of the future and have set up specific funds designed to invest in them. Others regard the risk/reward ratio as too high and other funds avoid them because of the inability to trade in any real size.

Whatever happens, it is unlikely that smaller companies will ever enjoy the sort of popularity witnessed during the boom periods of the 1980s. Geoffrey Douglas, analyst at BZW, says the 1980s was the decade of the smaller company. "There was a growing awareness of small companies and how they performed. The USM was formed in the early 1980s and the entrepreneurs were given a

chance to see what they could do. Smaller companies were given a high profile and resources were committed by fund managers."

In 1987, Hoare Govett, the stockbroker, introduced its own smaller companies index allowing investors to monitor their performance and it soon became apparent that smaller companies were easily outperforming their larger rivals.

Mr Douglas adds: "It is easier to grow a smaller company than a large company in terms of dividend growth and share price performance. The years of underperformance were few and far between. Everything seemed hunky-dory, with the premiums for smaller companies shooting up all the time. It soon became apparent that the sort of premiums being enjoyed were discounting everything a long way in advance."

But investors' faith in smaller companies was rattled by the stock market crash of 1987. The illiquidity of the smaller companies proved a drawback to conducting an orderly market and resulted in volatile price movements disproportionate to the size of business conducted.

Smaller companies continued to expand during 1989 helped by funding from the equity markets. But by then investors' perceptions of them had started to change. By 1990, they were heading down the slippery slope to recession. Many smaller companies were already highly geared, which meant they started the recession at a disadvantage.

"Most smaller companies were domestically focused and felt the full force of the recession, unlike the bigger companies who were quite often internationally based and able to reflect some of the ill-effects of the downturn. The pressure of recession also revealed many faults in their structures. Acquisitions dried up and many of those that had been made were exposed as ill-considered, overpaid and succeeded in over-stretching management resources", Mr Douglas says.

Smaller companies turned out to be major casualties of the recession which has been longer and deeper than anyone had originally forecast. By 1991, most smaller companies were trading at a discount to the rest of the market. The hoped for economic recovery had failed to materialise leading to a further period of underperformance. Once again the little bit of unwanted stock that found its way into the marketplace had had a disproportionate effect on the share prices of those companies concerned.

But brokers like Mr Douglas believe there is still a future for the smaller company in this country. He is convinced that the economic recovery when it finally gets under way will revive interest in the sector.

Mr Douglas concludes: "It is unlikely that the City will ever regain the enthusiasm for smaller companies seen in the 1980s. But there will always be marvellous opportunities among smaller companies to achieve significant returns although much of their future performance will depend on the pace of economic recovery."

## THE TIMES CITY DIARY

### Beck and call

WITHIN weeks of the departure of Terry Smith, head of UK equity research at UBS Phillips & Drew, amid a row about his book, *Accounting for Growth*, the man who effectively replaced him has also left the firm. Peter Beck, head of European research, was promoted to overall head of research after Smith's departure, but he was, it transpires, already in talks with Paribas, the French group. A delighted Chris Cartwright, head of equities at Paribas, says: "We have been working on this for a long, long time. He has a lot of experience of managing a research department and that is what we need here." Beck, who resigned from Phillips & Drew yesterday, will similarly be head of research — both UK and European — at Paribas. Phillips & Drew, meanwhile, insists it will be "in no great hurry" to find a successor, with Hector Sants, managing director, effectively assuming that role. Immediately after Smith's departure, the company reorganised its research division so that each industry sector had its own head. Each of those heads will now report directly to Sants. "It's a job I enjoyed doing in 1988 and I suspect I will enjoy doing it again," Sants says.

### Ikea deja vu

ON HOLIDAY this week at his home in Kimbury, Berkshire, Sir Terence Conran reveals that the sale of Habitat to Ikea, the Swedish group, is not a new proposition. Four years



Conran: reminiscing

ago, Conran discloses, Ingvar Kamprad, Ikea's founder, approached Conran and asked "if he could help" the group. Conran says: "I've always liked and admired him and I was quite interested." However, Michael Julien, the chief executive at the time, with whom Conran had a public falling out, disagreed. Conran also recalls that the price Kamprad offered "was slightly higher than" Conran's diagnosis of what Habitat needs now is "vision and tender loving care". Meanwhile, he is planning another restaurant in addition to Fulham Road's Bibendum, his two at Butlers Wharf and Quagline's. "I'm not telling you where it is but it will be an English restaurant in London."

### King abdicates

INVESTIGATORS into City disasters are well advised to check their own track records before pontificating on the

misfortunes of others. David King, a retired Lloyd's underwriter, was a member of the review panel set up to examine the circumstances of the £63 million loss at the Rose Thomson Young syndicate, one of the biggest victims of the LMX reinsurance spiral. Asco at Lloyd's. The same David King was the underwriter on syndicate 745, which yesterday announced it has lost £54 million through its participation in — you've guessed it — the LMX reinsurance spiral. Mr King duly relinquished his investigative responsibilities earlier this week.

### Call my bluff

JAMES Freund, a New York lawyer and one of the top negotiators in takeover battles in the eighties, has written a book, *Smart Negotiating*, published by Simon & Schuster, to help ordinary mortals obtain a better deal. As senior partner at Skadden, Arps, Slate, Meagher & Flom, the American law firm, Freund, 58, advised Federated Department Stores during its takeover by Campeau, and TWA, when it fought Carl Icahn. TWA lost to Icahn but Freund's reputation as a tough talker is undimmed. His key advice is never bluff unless you know you have another chance to put your offer on the table. But even Freund says there are times to back down, as when he and his wife bought their Easton, Connecticut, home. "Objectively, we overpaid but it would have been terrible not to have had that house."

CAROL LEONARD

### Falling foul of a part-time taxman

From R.S. Guha  
Sir, Christopher Batchelor was very fortunate in his personal dealings with the taxman.

I first wrote to my tax inspector in April 1992 about the repayment of two tax rebates due to me. The sums were small. In September, I was informed that my employer was responsible for the payment of one rebate and on October 15 I received a £15.75 cheque for the other. The inspector said that a letter explaining the £15.75 rebate would be sent to me soon.

But after six months I have learnt to be very patient and humble in my dealings with the taxman. From April to October I phoned and wrote several times. The letters were answered, at intervals of four weeks or more, by different tax

inspectors. My file containing the P60 substitute went missing in transit between the various inspectors. I never got it back and dare not ask for it back. Each time I phoned I was referred to a person who happened to work part-time and apparently was not on duty until next week. All along I felt that the procrastination was deliberate and designed to intimidate and discourage people from making small claims. It is said that in the USA "only little people" pay taxes. Here the "little" people are expected to touch their forelock and meekly put up with indifferent, inadequate and dilatory service from their taxman.

Yours faithfully,

R.S. GUHA,

98 Alicia Gardens,

Harrow, Middlesex.

### Being more modest over rent reviews

From Dr David Dover  
Sir, I refer to Mrs Cole's letter of October 23 in which she tells of a landlord's agent seeking a 135 per cent increase in rent on five-year review in 1992 despite there being a number of empty shops in the vicinity. I hope this letter does not raise the common cry of foul against "upwards only" review clauses. 135 per cent is vastly in excess of 0 per cent which would be sufficient to satisfy an upwards only clause. In Great Queen Street, WC2, the result of seeking the maximum (presumably justifiable) rent increases can be seen. Tenants who could leave without penalty have done so. Others may have simply gone bankrupt. The result is empty shops "to let" at less than the pre-review (1987) rent.

I would have thought that any landlord who was aware

of the present economic situation would be considering accepting more modest increases than could be argued on the review clause basis. The review basis is usually to "current market rent" and where the review has been long delayed (as Mrs Cole's appears to have been) the market rent (of many months ago) may well now be more than today's level and more than the tenant can bear. The landlord's commercial interest (which his agent is duty bound to put first) is in receiving the rent rather than in bankrupting the tenant. Equally, a prudent tenant would approach the landlord with open books to argue a rent level (perhaps temporary) which would let him survive. No sensible landlord would turn him away.

Yours faithfully,

DR DAVID DOVER,

17 Heath Hurst Road, NW3.

## THE TIMES

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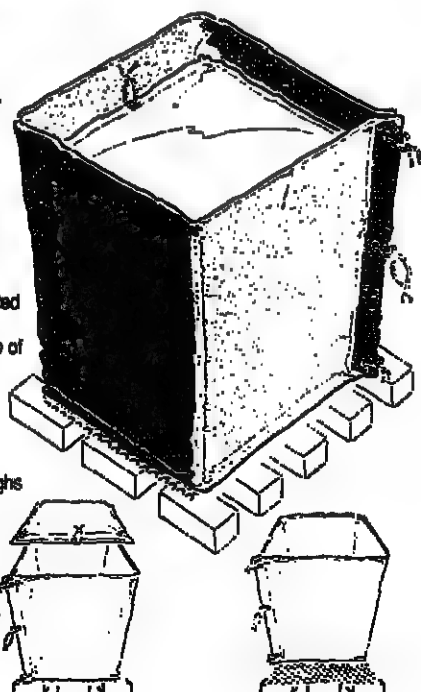
A spare grid is supplied so that as soon as the compost is ready, you can re-erect the bin and start a second batch.

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*Dr Scott Barrett, Assistant Professor of Economics London Business School.*



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If you have ticked off your eight share in our Match The Shares game today, claim your prize by telephoning 0254 552172 between 10.00am and 5.30pm (see the Sunday Times for full details)

The winner of yesterday's Portfolio Plus prize of £2,000 was Mr Edward King of Pines, Basildon, Essex.

1992 High Low Company Price Div % Yld % P/E

### BANKS, DISCOUNT, HP

No	Company	Price	Div	% Yld	% P/E
1	Barclays Bank	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
2	HSBC Bank	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
3	London & Lancashire	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
4	Midland Bank	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
5	Natwest Bank	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
6	Paragon Bank	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
7	Prudential	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
8	Royal Bank of Scotland	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
9	Santander Bank	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
10	Trustee Savings Bank	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
11	Windsor Bank	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
12	Yorkshire Bank	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
13	Yorkshire Bank	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
14	Yorkshire Bank	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
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16	Yorkshire Bank	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
17	Yorkshire Bank	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
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19	Yorkshire Bank	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
20	Yorkshire Bank	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00

### BREWERIES

No	Company	Price	Div	% Yld	% P/E
1	Adnams	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
2	Beck's	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
3	Carlsberg	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
4	Guinness	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
5	Heineken	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
6	King's	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
7	Miller	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
8	Newcastle	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
9	Older	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
10	Reck	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
11	Stout	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
12	Tottenham	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
13	Watson	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
14	Watson	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
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20	Watson	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00

### BUILDING, ROADS

No	Company	Price	Div	% Yld	% P/E
1	Abey	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
2	Abey	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
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19	Abey	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
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## Shares close below best

ACCOUNT DAYS: Dealings began October 19. Dealings end on Friday, 30th. Settlement day November 9. If you have bought shares on the previous day's close, but adjustments are made when a stock is re-dividend. Changes, yields and price/earnings ratios are based on middle prices.

### BUSINESS SERVICES

No	Company	Price	Div	% Yld	% P/E
1	Adnams	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
2	Adnams	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00
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### ELECTRICITY

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### CHEMICALS, PLASTICS

No	Company	Price	Div	% Yld	% P/E
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20	Adnams	100.00	4.00	4.00	10.00

### DRAPERY, STORES

No	Company	Price	Div	% Yld	% P/E
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THE TIMES WEDNESDAY OCTOBER 28 1992

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## THEATRE page 30

Susan Lynch may be "deliriously pretty" as Lulu, but the plays are impossible to stage

## ARTS

## TELEVISION page 31

D.H. Lawrence: was he a homosexual? Yes, according to last night's Without Walls



OPERA: Rodney Milnes, at a British premiere, calls for a co-ordinated national approach to new works

## Let's do the show right, right here

The presentation of new opera in Britain tends to be slightly hole-in-the-wall nowadays. Ruled by economic necessity in their huge theatres, the London companies have hived off much of their responsibility for new work to the ghettos of the Garden Venture and the Contemporary Opera Studio—worthy institutions both, but on the sidelines. New work is in danger of being no longer part of mainstream operatic life either in London or the even more financially pressed regions.

In which context the premiere of Nicola LeFanu's new opera, *Blood Wedding*, on Monday was an altogether remarkable event. There is nothing remotely hole-in-the-wall about it: it is a bold, ambitious undertaking, a gesture of defiance against any number of odds.

It was commissioned from LeFanu and her librettist Deborah Levy by the Women's Playhouse Trust, whose moving spirit, Jules Wright, also produced and directed. The run of nine performances is budgeted at £357,000, of which around ten per cent comes from such public bodies as the Arts Council, the London Arts Board, the Docklands Development Corporation and the European Arts Festival. The rest has been found through imaginative and determined fund-raising.

The Jacob Street Studios (071-497 9977), on Mill Street, just south of Tower Bridge, are a working film studio transformed into a passable 500-seat opera theatre, with acoustical advice from Ove Arup. Fodini Dimon's spacious set, beautifully lit by Jenny Cane, is impressively spectacular, and her costumes (designed in collaboration with Nicole Farhi) are elegant, chic even, but true to Lorca.

Nor is the Jacob Street run (until November 7) all: there will be performances in Russia and the Ukraine, and the possibility of tours to Australia, Brazil and Germany.

There is something either splendid or—depending on one's mood—bloody-mindedly uncompromising about the whole enterprise. *Blood Wedding* does not run

eagerly to meet its audience, despite educational workshop projects attached to the premiere. All concerned assume some knowledge of Lorca's play, if not of Levy's libretto; narrative values and representational action are skimmed, and there was much pen-torch work and shuffling through the libretto supplied with the programme on the part of Monday's audience to try and find out who was who and where we were (the libretto's cast list

unvarying andante moderato that tries one's patience sorely).

The music will not terrify anyone who can take Tippett, with whom LeFanu shares characteristically angular settings of plain English sentences. Her writing can be chatty, and at a dramatic level it is not always apparent why she chooses certain effects, apart from natural exuberance and volubility. She is at her best in lyrical passages: two duets for the Bride and the Lover are the most satisfying moments in the score, alongside some especially expressive writing for flute. There are technically adroit mixings of onstage accordion and simulated-onstage gramophone records of popular music with the pit band that raise problems similar to Tippett's use of "Die liebe Farbe" in *The Knot Garden*—the contrast is too violent, the idioms too disparate. Yet such effects are welcome in a score where, too often, not quite enough is happening.

Jules Wright's staging, the 17-strong Endymion Ensemble under Anne Manson, and the fiercely committed cast of 15 deserve nothing but praise: the premiere had been prepared with single-minded devotion to the cause. Lynne Davies's hugely sympathetic Bride was winningly sung. Quentin Hayes's Lover smouldered resolutely, and the electrifying Cynthia Buchanan took three small parts to riveting effect (chain-smoking while rocking a cradle can't be right, though). The crucial role of the Groom's Mother-doubling-Death was forcefully presented by Annemarie Sand, and Nicholas Clapton's eerie, penetrating counter-tenor was suitably chilling as the Moon. The final image of the Bride isolated downstage while eight women stood upstage, lit from below as if at the edge of the abyss, reminded one of the performance's provenance.

At the end, while applauding the sheer guts of the whole undertaking, I was left wondering precisely whom this uncompromising opera was for—for the composer's and director's peers, maybe, but surely not for a non-operatic public or, barely, the regular opera audience.



Judith Weir: her Night at the Chinese Opera was killed off with Kent Opera

is less helpful in this respect than standard translations of the play). LeFanu does not set too much store by traditional norms of dramatic structure and pacing. There are moments of dangerous stasis in the two-hour, two-set span of the opera that her music doesn't quite carry; there is, after all, little overt action—bride deserts groom on wedding day to join married lover, groom slays lover. At 35 minutes the first scene of the second act (the wedding party) is simply too long, and the remaining half hour encompasses the dénouement at an



Bride and Groom (Lynne Davies and Philip Sheffield), in Nicola LeFanu's *Blood Wedding*, which is now at Jacob Street Studios

But that is the over-riding problem with so much contemporary opera—Richard Morrison's wise words on Weill on this page yesterday should be required reading for all young composers—and it is a problem that won't go away while new works are marginalised.

There are mainstream new operas, but look what happens to them: English National Opera couldn't afford to revive Britten's *Mask of Orpheus* despite an invitation to do so by the Vienna Festival; the same composer's *Gawain*, a great success at the Garden last

year, will have to wait until 1994 for its first revival—in an ideal world it would be repeated now.

Outside London there are fits and starts. Collaboration between the Huddersfield Contemporary Music Festival and Opera North gave us Saxton's *Caritas*, but when will we see it again? Collaboration between the Banff Centre and Cardiff has borne fruit in the shape of Metcalf's *Tornjak* (no revival in sight) and Toomey's *Ubu* (no revival required, by all accounts). Kent Opera nurtured Judith Weir, but her *Night at the Chinese Opera*

was killed off along with the company, and her *Vanishing Bridegroom* remains unrevised. It is all too fragmented.

One gazes enviously at Germany, where the Munich Biennale under firm artistic leadership (Herze) is a powerhouse of new work, including British new work (Turnage, Parnis, Viri). Should all the studios and ventures here be combined under one roof to generate similar activity? One even gazes enviously at the United States, where Weir has been taken up enthusiastically, where

composers such as Adams and Glass have struck an answering chord in a large audience, and where a mainstream company such as Lyric Opera of Chicago has made an eight-year commitment to contemporary American opera, starting later this week with Bolcom's *McTeague*.

There is product here, there is the will—as WPT has shown—but neither leadership nor administrative organisation. Until there is, new opera will remain on the sidelines, with disastrous effects on the future of the art-form.

## Five million words may prove too many

HOW genuine is the much-touted boom in the public appreciation of opera? That question is of more than passing interest to the publishers Macmillan, as they prepare to launch *The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*. Expected to retail at around £550, the four-volume monster (known affectionately as "Opera Grove") among the 800 musicologists to whom it has provided work in the last five years will obviously not be an impulse purchase.

On the other hand, the Grove industry has been very profitable for Macmillan so far. It began, under the editorship of former

South Bank Centre. Well, it now emerges that he won't. Derek Walcott has pulled out of his engagement at the Poetry International festival. The centre has announced that the West Indian poet "has been taken ill, and is unable to travel to Britain to take part in the Poetry International festival as planned on November 7". Walcott's reading will be rescheduled "as soon as possible when he is well again".

### Rescuing readers

LIKE the US Cavalry, the Arts Council is galloping to the rescue of a beleaguered outpost. It is called literacy, and opinions differ about whether the rescue mission will be in time. Nevertheless, the Arts Council's new Library Fund has made its first batch of awards, pinpointing ten schemes throughout Britain that aim to get people reading books again, and spending a total of £50,000 which will be supplemented by grants from local authorities and the Library Association. Among the projects is "Desert Island Poetry" (15 Liverpool celebrities will select six poems each and discuss them on local radio); and a joint partnership between libraries in Knowsley and the local Asda supermarket to promote literature among mothers and children.

### Last chance...

THE upstairs-downstairs stories may be unashamedly sentimental, the lyrics seldom soar more than two inches off the ground, and only the title-song offers what the location invites, the sweet-sour feel of Weimar Berlin in genteel decay; but *Grand Hotel* still does much to restore the American musical's reputation for charm, momentum and sheer, opulent fun. Last performance is at the Dominion (071-636 0875) on Saturday.

RADIO: Peter Barnard on the BBC's assumption of news supremacy; review by Derwent May

## Only corporations shall speak unto nations?

For an operation allegedly run by a geriatric and a lame duck, the BBC is proving no slouch at massaging the Radio 4 debate. Finesse was rarely so finessed. Already Broadcasting House has defined the argument to its own advantage, as witness the newspapers full of letters from Disgusted of Dagenham and Disconnected of the Dordogne. The debate is about which of two frequencies the 24-hour BBC news network should use. This is the broadcasting equivalent of deciding between hanging and shooting without the tedium of a trial.

The trial, were we allowed one, would concern the level of desire for such a network and the suitability of the BBC to be its single parent. The flimsy evidence, were we encouraged to examine it, would come from the round-the-clock Gulf war adventure on Radio 4, which is alleged to have been a tremendous success. Apparently Operation Desert Radio captured the nation in days not weeks, the opposition shot to ribbons by the

massed tanks of BH. We interrupt this propaganda to enter a caveat.

There is no empirical evidence that the BBC is the best conduit for a 24-hour news network. The experiment during the Gulf war only proved that even when half the world is beating down the front door of a despot, there is very little real news. Retired General Sir Herbert Gubbins vying with retired Admiral Sir Horatio Shipshape to guess what might be happening 4,000 miles away is not news coverage any more than Brian Johnston describing his latest cake is coverage of a Test match. It may be fun, but it's not cricket.

After decades of being told that only Radio 3 knew what was good for the nation's musical health, we at last have Classic FM proving otherwise. It may not be to all tastes, but it has expanded perceptions and proposed fresh definitions as to what culture might be. News is as much a part of the culture as music: do we want the BBC's news culture, straddling the twin peaks of an ill-defined "bal-

ance" and John Birt's mission to explain, to be the exclusive, national siren of what news is?

The 200 metre band on long wave was not handed to the BBC by Marconi, let alone God. The corporation already has Radios 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5. It has shown little originality in its use of the opportunity offered by having Radio 4 on two wavelengths: why anticipate originality when two wavelengths become two networks?

Peter Brooke, the heritage secretary, should put a news network out to tender. That would measure demand and show whether the market thinks a news channel should be on FM or long wave. It would open the bidding to the likes of LBC, the London talk station, whose 24-hour mix of news and chat has not convincingly proven that commercial viability and instant access to breaking news can be combined. There is also ITN, whose Independent Radio News offshoot supplies most of the nation's commercial stations.

A BBC bid could well succeed, if the corporation can prove that its radio news flotilla is more than just a few glittering liners (*Today*, *The World at One*, *The World Tonight*), plus a fleet of dinghies bobbing up every hour on the hour. The detailed market research that accompanies tendering would also be a way of measuring the real demand for 24-hour news.

If there is a real market for 24-hour news, there will be a real market to supply it. Tendering will

prize open the cosy world which the BBC dominates. Tendering will also nail the oft-repeated BBC claim that 96 per cent of people can get Radio 4 on FM. That is only true if 96 per cent of people put an FM aerial on their roofs.

Of course we must retain public service broadcasting and of course the BBC is its finest exponent. But news is not a sacred trust. There may be a case for an all-news network, but there is no case for handing it to the BBC as a right.

## ARTS BRIEFING

Times music critic Stanley Sadie, with the publication of the 20-volume *New Grove Dictionary of Music* ten years ago. Since then have come the multi-volume *New Grove* dictionaries of musical instruments and of American music, as well as paperback spin-offs.

"Opera Grove" is described as "the first all-embracing reference work on opera"; according to a Macmillan spokesman, "no other opera guide, from Kobbé's *Complete Opera Book* to the *Concise Oxford Dictionary of Music*, can make such a claim." Among the five million words in "Opera Grove" will be 2,000 entries on operas, 2,500 on singers (including comparatively unestablished singers of today), and a staggering 2,900 entries on composers.

WE WONDERED in this column two weeks ago if the new Nobel prize-winner for literature would keep his date to read poetry at the

## Clowns, cones and In-I-Go Jones

In Ad Lib (Radio 4) on Saturday evening, Robert Robinson talked to some clowns. When he had a batch of long-distance lorry-drivers on the programme a few weeks ago, he could hardly get a word in, they were so busy chuckling together over their adventures. But the clowns were a quiet and sober lot.

Robinson told them the story of the depressed man who went to a doctor and was advised "Go and see the great clown Grimaldi." "I am Grimaldi," the man replied. The clowns denied that they were all chronically depressed; but they did feel they were at the bottom of the hierarchy in the circus, and they also agreed that the pleasure of the job was that they completely got away from their everyday selves.

On the same rather subdued note, they admitted that to be a real comedian was much harder—you didn't escape from your own personality when you were a comedian, you had to project it with

exceptional vigour. One young man remarked that it was difficult to tell a girl that you were a clown. You had to start by saying you were an entertainer—you made people laugh—and work up to it.

But they all loved their job, and were inclined to think it was because they could become like children again. "Have we ever grown up?" asked the one woman among them. I thought this was a really successful programme, bringing out such a wealth of introspection, if not broken-heartedness, behind the custard pies.

The short, straight talk—the glory of the wireless in its early days—seems to be making a cautious comeback on Radio 4. On Monday, in *That Boy Jones*, Malcolm Jones dug out the story of his namesake Edmund Jones, who as a young chimney sweep in 1841 twice broke into Buckingham Palace, once curling up under a sofa beside the Princess Royal's cot.

The authorities forced him to become a sailor and kept him at sea for about five years. But *The Times*, *Punch*, and the *News of the World* all took up his cause and had great sport with it. They nicknamed him "In-I-Go Jones", and suggested that a better employment for him would be running the Post Office espionage service.

We also had 15 minutes on the past in Richard Kelly's talk *The Ice Cream Man* on Saturday—a brief history of the Italians who started pouring into Glasgow in the 1970s and made their way to Tyneside, where they became ice cream men because it was the only business they could start without capital. Kelly as a boy had agonised in Newcastle market over whether to buy an ice-cream waffer from Toni or Rizzi, and he spoke with affection of these Italians, even when they were tempted by free holidays and medals to join fascist clubs in the 1930s.

D. M.

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# Geneva's prospects look good

European cinema  
has few truly  
international stars.  
David Robinson on  
a festival that aims  
to find some more

In pursuit of the great dream of a pan-European cinema that can challenge the Hollywood hegemony, the European Media Fund disburses huge resources every year. So far the main result has been an army of culturecrats, a plethora of mysterious agencies with tortuous acronymic titles and a distinctly modest handful of films which, even if they occasionally win nomination for Best Foreign Language Oscar, do not begin to compete with the Americans in terms of international box office.

The root of the problem is the lack of European stars with international appeal. We have Gérard Philipe, 69-year-old Marcello Mastroianni, Nastassja Kinski maybe, but precious few others. In a brave corrective effort, the Geneva Film Festival was set up five years ago with the deliberate aim of spotlighting European Stars of Tomorrow. This year for the first time its small budget was augmented by a grant from European funds.

The 15 or so "Espoirs" who come with their films to Geneva (personal appearances are a condition of the competition) look and behave refreshingly unlike conventional stars. Their ages range from 14 to 30, and denim, boots and shaggy ponytails are more or less *de rigueur*. By and large they show a genuine interest in each other's work, and no aggressive competitiveness in pursuit of the prizes — one for each sex, with an additional international Press award this year for the first time.

British actors have had regular success in Geneva. In 1988 Dexter Fletcher took the prize for Bob Hoskins' *The Raggedy Dancers*; in 1990 Ruth Sheen for Mike Leigh's *High Hopes*; and in 1991 Claire Skinner for Leigh's *Life is Sweet*. But none of these, it must be admitted, has so far become a household name in European films.

It is equally hard to predict a future for this year's British prize-winner Jaye Davidson, who plays the transsexual romantic interest in Neil Jordan's *The Crying Game*. This fragile youngster with his tiny, London-accented voice suits the eccentric, one-off role ideally, but is not



Exemplary performance: Karen-Lise Mynster in the title role of Liv Ullmann's atmospheric but undisciplined directorial debut, *Sofie*

likely to prove easy casting for anything else.

The feminine *Espoir*, the Romanian Maia Morgenstern, has temperament, fierce good looks and good English, so perhaps more chance of European stardom. At 30 the oldest competitor, her starring career was delayed by rampant anti-semitism in the Ceausescu years. In *The Oak Tree*, an absurdist black comedy about that era, she plays a teacher whose non-conformist nature lands her at the sharp end of the Securitate.

Other Geneva hopefuls included Evgeni Mironov, a handsome 26-year-old, discovering both first love and national racism in a spirited, undisciplined Russian entry, *Love*; and Stefano Accorsi in the leading role of Pupi Avati's *Brothers and Sisters*. Rather coolly received at the Venice Festival and rejected by the London Festival, this is a dense, attractive and formally original treatment of a broken Italian family

retreating to the unfamiliar environment of the American Midwest.

The one undoubted new European star on show in Geneva was not an actor at all, however, but an English director who has chosen to work in Sweden. Colin Nield began his career in English television, followed his wife to her native Sweden and has since made his career there.

His achievement has been to revive the long-disregarded genre of rural comedy, applying a mordant visual wit and a merciless eye for petty-bourgeois pretension and hypocrisy. His first feature, *The Ninth Company*, was about a group of soldiers who divert military equipment into profitable private enterprise; his second, *Black Jack*, was about a dance band. *House of Angels* — which will be seen at the London Film Festival — describes the murderous disruption of a stuffy village when

a sexy young city woman inherits the local manor. Nield is one of the rare film-makers who suggest fruitful directions for European cinema.

Swedish cinema was specially featured in Geneva, showing the extent to which Ingmar Bergman continues to exert his influence, even though he has himself apparently given up directing. This year has seen two of his autobiographical scripts made by other directors. Bille August's pedestrian *The Best Intentions* related the Bergman parents' early married life, up to the birth of Ingmar.

Now Ingmar's son, Daniel Bergman, has made *Sunday's Children*, which picks up little Ingmar at the age of eight, observing and suffering the strains of his parents' marriage. From time to time the film flashes forward to describe confrontations between the 50-year-old Bergman and his dying father.

The fascination is to observe the 74-year-old Bergman revising his

views on the family that has dominated his personal and artistic mythology. Now the austere father, previously depicted as a minor sadist, is seen in a more kindly light: while the mother takes on a less saintly character.

Daniel Bergman is a promising director. Already traits of the adult Bergman are evident in this anxious little boy — even to the dramatic diarrhoea which figures so comically large in the autobiographical writings of Sweden's greatest film-maker.

Another Bergman disciple, the actress Liv Ullmann, makes her directorial debut with *Sofie*, based on a long chronicle novel about a Jewish family in Copenhagen at the turn of the century. The atmosphere is finely caught and the performances of Einar Josephson and Karen-Lise Mynster are exemplary, leaving a frustrating sense that there is a seriously good film hidden somewhere within an undisciplined and never-ending sprawl.

## DANCE

# Something to crow about

John Percival talks to choreographer Christopher Bruce, whose new work, *Rooster*, has its British premiere tonight

By any reckoning, Christopher Bruce is one of the best British choreographers working today. So why is his production of *Rooster* for London Contemporary Dance Theatre (opening in Leeds tonight) the only work of his we shall see all year, with the exception of *Swansong*, which had audiences cheering when given at the Coliseum by both English National Ballet and the Berlin Ballet?

Two years ago he ended his contract as resident choreographer with English National Ballet because "I was hanging on by my toenails thinking I was an indulgence they couldn't afford. With financial pressures, a triple bill would come up occasionally and you'd get your work on, but there wasn't time to rehearse properly."

So he has increasingly accepted the many invitations he gets from abroad; lately he has

stages, because I've got rather used to very big stages.

The music is the Rolling Stones; it's eight songs, music that I've lived with for 20 years, wonderful songs.

"It reflects the qualities of the songs, and the rather dreadful male chauvinistic way of thinking about women that was natural for young men in my teenage years. I'm not condoning the attitude, I'm just accepting it as reflecting the time."

"The first song is 'Little Red Rooster', so I made the comparison between the strutting cockerel with his fine feathers and the man dressed up to go out, the blue suede shoes sort of image. And the women are rather long-suffering, but see through it with philosophical humour, so there's a kind of sexual awe there."

"There are themes that come out of the songs which are quite serious: it's some-



Bruce: too rarely seen in Britain

worked mostly with the Houston Ballet in Texas and at the Grand Theatre, Geneva, where "the facilities are, on the whole, much better than in this country: the stages, the qualities of the dancers, the types of dancer, and the budgets."

*Rooster*, created last year in Geneva, is his first work for London Contemporary, although he made *Holiday Sketches*, to Billie Holiday recordings, for their school about ten years ago. Over recent years he has concentrated on making contemporary work for classically-based dancers, something he finds lacking in the big companies here, so that "a terrible rigor mortis is setting in because there's not enough work being made that is of our time — I guess because they don't think they can sell it, which actually is a bit of a myth if the work is good."

The invitation from LCDT was not a complete surprise, because he and the company's director, Robert Cohan, had discussed such a possibility for years. Bruce chose *Rooster* for LCDT because "it was about the only one of the recent works I'd done where I thought it would suit the company and there would be the right number of people; and it would fit onto the

times a kind of a dark humour, but I've made what is for me a light work out of them."

What would tempt Bruce back to work more in Britain? He insists that "I don't need huge budgets. But I have to know that I'll be able to do artistically what I need to do."

"There's a lot of talent and a lot of energy being dissipated. We've got a little bit departmentalised: a wide range of contemporary dance, and the classical on the other extreme, but nothing in between. I think it's an area an audience would be drawn to."

London Contemporary Dance Theatre is at the Grand Theatre, Leeds (0532 459351) from tonight until Saturday



Serious issues, dark humour, and great songs by the Rolling Stones: LCDT in Christopher Bruce's *Rooster*

THEATRE: Peter Lewis on a chance to see an Italian classic staged by one of Europe's greatest directors

Giorgio Strehler, director of the Piccolo theatre of Milan, has been one of the dominating figures of European theatre for over 40 years. But apart from one brief but unforgettable visit with his company to a London World Theatre Season in 1967, he is known in Britain only as a name. So there is bound to be some curiosity about the Goldoni production that he brings to the National Theatre tomorrow as part of a European tour.

Over the years Strehler has given a new immediacy to Goldoni's plays, which had ossified in the traditions of *commedia dell'arte*. But he has also ranged widely over European drama and opera. Bertolt Brecht himself commended his production of *The Threepenny Opera* in 1956. His Shakespeare productions are famous, which makes it all the more frustrating that we have never seen them.

Now 71, tall, silver-haired and with a born actor-manager's instinctive dominance, Strehler responds energetically to an audience even of one. "Do I still have new ideas? Too many! I feel far younger than my real age." For the past four years he has devoted his energies to staging, piecemeal, Goethe's *Faust* — "Faust Fragments" he calls them — and returned to the stage to take the title role. His current project is to play his hero,

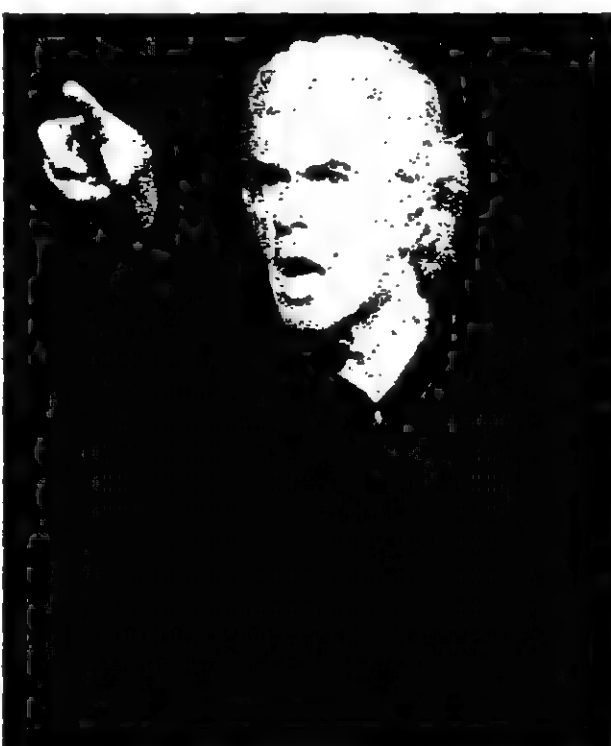
## A master in any language

Carlo Goldoni. In a dramatised biography based on the memoirs of the man he considers Italy's greatest playwright.

A fervent European, Strehler began the Théâtre de l'Europe in Paris in 1983 under the patronage of Jack Lang and ran it for six years, while also serving as a Socialist member of the European Parliament.

Now he presides over the Union of European Theatres, a federation of 12 of Europe's most illustrious companies, including the National Theatre and the Royal Shakespeare Company, dedicated to breaking down isolation and exchanging productions. The National sent its world tour of *King Lear* and *Richard III* to Milan, so Strehler's visit can be seen as an exchange, made possible by the European Arts Festival funds. Next month the participating theatres of the federation will stage a festival in Düsseldorf, to which the National is sending *Angels in America*.

*Le Baruffe Chiozzotte*, the play he is bringing to London, was performed at the Venice carnival in 1762 and was virtually unknown until Strehler first revived it. The title, like the play, is in the subdialect of Venetian spoken in



Giorgio Strehler: "Do I still have ideas? Too many!"

Chioggia, the fishing port at the southern tip of the lagoon. In an explanatory note to the play, Goldoni writes: "The term 'baruffa' means confusion, a scuffle, a group of men and women shouting at each

other and hitting each other. Such scuffles tend to be more common in Chioggia than anywhere else."

An acceptable translation of the title might therefore be "The Squabbles of Chioggia" but the text itself remains impenetrable to outsiders. It is better to follow the play like a spoken opera, which is how it is performed, with arias, duets, quartets and choruses of taunting, indignation, entreaty, fury and reconciliation. It is also like ballet. In Strehler productions the smallest movements in the most complex groupings have been finely calculated. Strehler's preference is for strong back-lighting, against which the silhouette of an actor's body is more telling than his facial expression.

"Nobody in Chioggia has ever laughed at this play," says Strehler. "They took offence, even in Goldoni's time." But Goldoni knew his subjects. As a young law student in 1728, he had been given the job of assistant to the examining magistrate in Chioggia, sorting out the quarrels.

"Knowing their customs, dialect, vivacity and malice, I knew how to portray them," he wrote in his memoirs. In doing so he wrote one of the earliest plays of working-class realism. There is just one part of higher social status — his own role as magistrate's right-hand man.

Strehler's passion for Goldoni began when he was 15 and dropped in on impulse to

watch an itinerant Venetian company which was visiting Milan. The effect was like a conversion. "I had never thought about the theatre," he says. "I went to the movies. But this was more real and more beautiful to me, even though they were probably not very good actors." Later he himself joined such a company, and after the war became Milan's leading theatre critic, before founding the Piccolo theatre in 1947.

"But in Milan our most performed playwright is not Goldoni but Shakespeare. I have done 12 Shakespeares compared with eight Goldonis. In England you have a big problem — Shakespeare is English! After centuries it is hard for you to find a new way of doing him. It is no accident that Shakespeare was born among the most theatrical people in the world. English actors are the best in the world."

Would it have helped his work if he had been born English too? Strehler considers this with an intrigued smile. "I believe my work has in a small way changed things in the theatre. If I were an Englishman," he continues, "breaking into English to say it. 'I would now be — Sir George!' The thought does not displease him."

Le Baruffe Chiozzotte is at the Lyttelton (071-928 2252), tomorrow, Friday, 7pm; Saturday, Monday, 2pm and 7pm.

## TELEVISION REVIEW

# Out on the road

expect with a name like that?

The shame of this programme was that it revealed so little, which is a poor reflection on any exposé. Lawrence's homo-eroticism should be news to nobody. His love of the male form is a literary commonplace, and it spills over into barely suppressed lust on many occasions, notably in *Women in Love*. As Quentin Crisp pointed out memorably last night: "You can't help noticing it never mentions you-know-what."

In the subtler moments of the film, "gay" writers discussed the complexity of Lawrence's beliefs in "blood brotherhood" as "the due to a new epoch," and the troubled nature of male friendship in an age overshadowed by the trial of Oscar Wilde. Speaking

for the post-feminists, Camille Paglia, the American academic, shouted amiably in praise of the author's bisexual creed.

But most of this was ham-fisted psychoanalysis, cobbled together simply to prove that Lawrence was gay. Fortunately enough, Lawrence cropped up in the rather different second section of last night's *Without Walls*, a brief history of the Jaguar E-type. The talking heads discussing this sleek and outrageously fast sports car compared it with *Lady Chatterley's Lover* as an icon of the new permissive society of the 1960s — a comparison Lawrence, hardly an advocate of technology, would have found abhorrent.

Produced between 1961 and 1974, the E-type was just about affordable, a symbol of

accessible glamour for those who wanted to be David Bailey or Jean Shrimpton gunning down the new M1 at 150 miles per hour.

The difficulty with *Without Walls* is trying to work out how all the bits are meant to fit together: is it a men's magazine along the lines of *GQ*, or a soap box for quirky and worthy causes? As if to link in with the Lawrence slot, there was a bit of psycho-babble thrown into the story of the E-type. "Sure, it's phallic," said one expert. "Cars are hermaphroditic." So now you know.

MATTHEW D'ANCONA

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## Ten things you ought to know

A glimpse at what we watch and read

There is no more useful annual guide to the British media industry than the *UK Media Yearbook* published by Zenith Media and Campaign. Its 133 pages offer a welter of fascinating statistics about television, radio and the cinema, the press, magazines, outdoor advertising and direct mail (2.1 billion items were pushed through our letter boxes last year at an average cost of 32p-45p). *Writes Brian MacArthur.*

Here, culled from the 1992/93 edition, are ten things you never knew you never knew about what the British watch and read.

□ The average TV viewer spends three hours and 45 minutes tuned in every day — and four hours, 20 minutes in winter.

□ The average person sees 33 television commercials a day.

□ The average person spends just under three hours a day listening to the radio, and 91 per cent of the UK population switch on during an average week.

□ Despite the launch of ten national newspapers over the past eleven years, total circulated copies of national newspapers have fallen by 9 per cent and four of the ten titles have closed.

□ On an average weekday 56 per cent of adults read a national daily newspaper. Over a month 93 per cent read a national newspaper.

□ There are 1,265 local newspapers in the UK. Six million are circulated every weekday.

□ There are 2,400 magazines available to the consumer, up from 1,500 in 1982.

□ The highest circulating business and professional magazine is *Computer Shopper*, with an average circulation of 130,000 each month.

□ There were 93 million cinema admissions last year, up from 54 million in 1984, but a far cry from the medium's heyday of the 1940s and '50s when very few people had access to television. Cinema admissions reached a record in 1946 when 1.6 billion tickets were sold.

□ Two thirds of the 236 films shown at UK cinemas last year came from Hollywood. Just 31 were made in the UK. Nowadays, 39 per cent of the population never goes to the cinema.

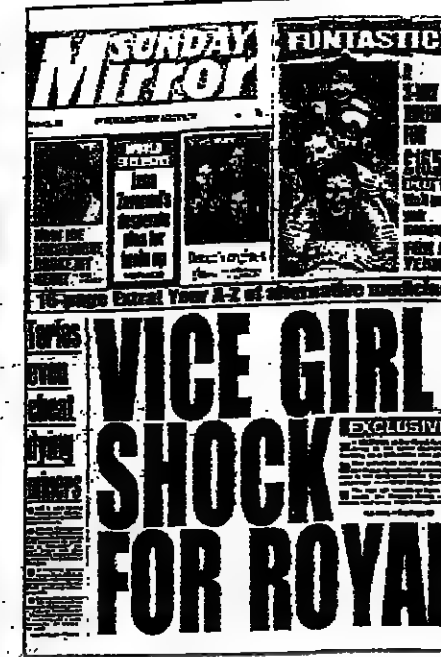
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# Mirror chief should sell The People

Harold Lind hopes a leaner, fitter MGN will emerge from the furore



Taking the helm: David Montgomery, the new MGN chief executive, and three of the papers whose future is in his hands. *The People* could be a prime candidate to be sold



When I heard that David Montgomery had been made chief executive of Mirror Group Newspapers my thoughts turned to Gothic horror stories. This was not for the same reason as the Mirror journalists who obviously believed that Dracula had risen from his grave in Wapping. Instead I was reminded of those stories where the young heir inherits a great estate but has to contend with the curse which has destroyed his predecessors. Before thinking about the value of the estate, it is worth reminding ourselves of just how devastating the curse has been.

The figures tell the story. Twenty-five years ago the *Daily Mirror* sold almost five million copies daily and with its stablemates the *Daily Herald* (soon renamed the *Daily News*) and the *Scottish Daily Record* this figure rose to almost seven million. Similarly the *Sunday Mirror* and *The People* between them sold over ten million copies, four million more than the *News of the World*.

All popular newspapers have lost circulation since then but the MGN titles have done particularly badly, with the *Daily Mirror* down to below three million and the two *Sundays* between them selling about half as many copies as they used to. This can be contrasted with the success of the *News International* titles, *News of the World* which sells as many copies as the two MGN *Sundays* together and

*The Sun* (bought from IPC), which maintains a lead over the *Mirror* of about 800,000.

All of this might make one wonder whether Mr Montgomery's inheritance is worth having. I would argue that it certainly is provided that he can learn from past mistakes and seize the opportunities which are present.

The most obvious fact is that over the past couple of years the gap between the *News International* titles and MGN has ceased to widen and may even have narrowed (if we exclude *The People*). I suspect that the relentless decline of all circulations over this period has been due largely to the slump and that when recovery starts the decline should be

halted. Newspapers in a position to take advantage of this swing may find themselves in an excellent competitive situation for years to come and there is no reason why this should not be MGN if Mr Montgomery makes the right decisions. But what are these?

There are rumours that Mr Montgomery intends to sell the *Daily Mirror*. This would seem an odd decision. The *Sunday* and *Daily Mirror* and the *Record* together still make a formidable combination. The odd man out is *The People* which has always fitted uncomfortably into the *Mirror* fold and if money is required seems an obvious candidate for a sale.

With or without the sale of assets

Mr Montgomery will still need to answer the basic question facing all popular journalists: how to attract new readers without losing those they have. One factor seems likely to work in his favour. *The Mirror* has a long record of opposing the Conservatives and this seems likely to be a popular position to hold. To this extent I believe Mr Montgomery when he says that he has no intention of changing the basic political stance of the *Mirror* group. He would be a fool if he did.

However, other promises which Mr Montgomery has made (or at least half made) to the *Mirror* journalists seem to be rather more doubtful. Socialism often comes to stand for a surrender to overman-

ning, incompetence and the maintenance of boys in jobs which should no longer exist. All Fleet Street suffered from those faults until Rupert Murdoch moved the *News International* newspapers to Wapping. Most newspaper groups have since largely eliminated restrictive practices. However, MGN, at least where journalists are concerned, has retained much of the *ancien régime*, hence the shrieks of rage and fear when Mr Montgomery's appointment was announced.

He has not entirely promised to preserve all their jobs: but in response to their pressure he has at least implied that he might. I suspect that if MGN is to grasp its opportunities Mr Montgomery will

have to trim the labour force. The *Mirror* employs a number of first rate journalists but in newspapers too many cooks, even competent cooks, spoil the broth and some pruning is likely to improve the printed sheet as much as the balance sheet.

In the long-running war between MGN and *News International*, Mr Murdoch has often played the part of Rommel, making sudden incursions which took his slower-moving rival by surprise. It will be fascinating to discover whether Mr Montgomery can justify his name by raising the morale of his troops enough to win the decisive battles which are likely over the next couple of years.

## Festive flak flies as little hands reach out for gifts galore

"Hark the Christmas angels sing, come and make the shop bells ring. Boozie and perfumes, sweets and toys, gifts galore for girls and boys."

As King Wenceslas slips on his furry boots and prepares to saunter forth on his seasonal trudge through the snow, advertising men are slipping on their festive flak jackets in preparation for the seasonal attack from truculent parents. From now until yuletide they will be sniped at by hostile mums who hold Christmas advertising

responsible for encouraging their children to drive them bonkers.

It's called pester power. Come Christmas, children pester parents for presents. And commercial breaks are packed with advertising for presents. Ergo, parents believe, advertising causes the pestering.

This disgruntlement conveniently ignores the existence of an almost well-known to every child: *amnesia parentalis*. Can there be parents who did not, once upon a time, themselves try to get their tiny hands on as many Christmas gewgaws as they could? The com-

mercialisation of Christmas long pre-dates television advertising. It was not advertising that invented Christmas stockings, crackers and Santa Claus.

Parents, however, so resent pester power that it has been banned both by the Advertising Standards Authority (ASA) and by the Independent Television Commission (ITC) regulations. The ASA rule states: "Ad-

vertisements must not encourage children to make themselves a nuisance to their parents... with the aim of persuading them to buy a product."

The ITC rule is even stricter: "Phrases such as 'Ask Mummy to buy you...' are not acceptable."

Despite this, parents still feel pestered. But the proof of this Christmas pudding is in the eating and if pester power worked the

number of toys sold each year should increase merely on high. That has not happened. During the 1980s, when toy advertising boomed, the value of sales in real terms remained reasonably constant. So pester power is not as powerful as it seems.

Why then do the toy manufacturers spend some £26 million a year on advertising? The principal reason is that the market has changed. Every year a plethora of new playthings hits the shops and, to be sold, they have to be advertised.

There are still a few well-loved classics, but the days when boys conscientiously built up train sets year after year are gone forever.

In my day, Meccano was all the rage. How I wished for a bigger set each Christmas. But my mum could not blame the telly. So she cuffed my ear.

From today the Media page appears every Wednesday

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Thousands of warring couples are forced to live together because they cannot sell their homes. Rachel Kelly reports

They are known as "caged couples" by estate agents: those forced to live together after their relationship has ended because they cannot sell their home.

Nobody knows how many people are suffering in this way but agents estimate, from the number of divorces alone, that there could be tens of thousands. Each year 160,000 couples divorce. In addition, thousands of unmarried couples who had been living together separate when their partnership sours.

The numbers are likely to increase as the divorce rate rises with the recession. In its annual review, published earlier this month, Relate, formerly the National Marriage Guidance Council, said that more marriages were falling because of the recession. A record number of 70,000 couples sought help last year for the first time after problems with their marriages, compared with 45,000 five years ago.

Unemployment, redundancy and mounting debts have had a "devastating impact" on family life. With the approach of Christmas, known as the divorce season, the number of break-ups increases.

Not all those divorcing or splitting up will be forced to co-habit. Sometimes the couple are renting. (A third of households do.) Even if the couple own the house, one partner may move out and rent or stay with friends until the house is sold. Sometimes, the house will not need to be sold, but people seldom want to build a new relationship in the same property.

Many more people, however, will not be able to afford the luxury of keeping their home, nor can they afford to move out. They must remain trapped in houses they own until the house is sold. What was once their castle has become their prison. They are the forgotten victims of the housing market slump. "It is happening up and down the country," Harry Hill, managing director of Hambro Countrywide, one of the country's biggest estate agents, says. "Thousands of people are affected."

In a boom, the house is sold in a matter of months. The emotional torture of living with a former partner is short-lived. But contemplate the problems that such couples now face when they try to sell.

## Property cage traps unhappy families

For some, it is not an option. They will be trapped in houses where the mortgage is now higher than the value of the house, and unless they can meet the shortfall, any plans of moving will be scotched. John Wriglesworth, housing analyst with UBS Phillips & Drew, a leading firm of City stockbrokers, has estimated that there could be more than a million such homeowners with what is called negative equity, and every month that prices drop, thousands more are tipped into the trap.

It could take years for such couples to be set free because analysts expect no recovery in the housing market for the next 18 months, and even then prices could take years to reach 1980s levels.

Many couples are young people who bought to beat the deadline set in 1988 by Nigel Lawson, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, for the abolition of double mortgage interest tax relief. Often, the relationships were fragile from the start. Such caged couples are overwhelmingly in the South East, with perhaps even less chance than others of escaping.

The rash of conversions in Victorian and Edwardian terraces during the property boom led to a plethora of studio flats to cater for demand from first-time buyers.

Now demand for such property, often converted on the cheap, has drifted away as a new generation of potential first-time buyers shuns home ownership and decides to rent. When the new generation

does enter the housing market, analysts believe that it is likely to use its increased earnings to skip a rung of the ladder and buy a small house rather than a poor conversion.

Some reluctant sharers may not have negative equity, but they are ensnared in the housing market log jam. Agents estimate that at present half of all sales are falling through.

The fact of a failed relationship will do little to help their sales pitch. The three Ds (divorce, debt and death) are said to be an agent's best friend, but in a slump, even the smallest difficulty can kill a sale.

Mr Hill says that in a recession the smallest impediment can become a mountain. "You need everything on your side in a soft market," he comments. "Often, only one partner wishes to sell. We find that most often it is the woman who does not want to sell because she wants to preserve the family home for her children."

If you sell a house for £100,000, for example, you get substantially less than a house half the size for your half share of the proceeds, and few wives relish the prospect of such reduced circumstances.

Sometimes the warring parties who jointly own a home will appoint different estate agents. Disgruntled wives have been known to ruin a sale by reference to the pig farm down the road. In a fragile market, the mere mention of a divorce might be enough to put off a buyer, who may fear that one

party will pull out.

There is little to relieve their plight. Sarah Bowler, a marriage guidance counsellor with Relate, suggests that it is possible to negotiate about sharing living space if the house or flat is small, or splitting it up more permanently if space allows, to soothe the aggravation of living together.

Agents report cases of houses with chalk lines on the kitchen floor dividing the space and rotas pinned up in the bathroom. "This is not new," Ms Bowler says. "People in the past have split up their homes or divided a flat into two bedsits. However, it has got worse with the recession. People feel that they are victims." She advises seeing a counsellor, but admits that little can be done to improve or end such a situation.

For Maureen Beque, the strain of staying with her former husband eventually proved too much. She lived for more than two years with Edward, her ex-husband, in the Plough & Harrow public house in Kent. They bought the pub on the edge of the village of Tilmanstone in 1987 and built it into a thriving local.

The marriage floundered, however, and two years ago they divorced. They decided to live together while they tried to sell the pub. Neither was prepared to relinquish it. Their home was their livelihood. The strain was palpable, but they managed to muddle on.

Mr Beque slept in the studio flat they once shared, and Mrs Beque lived in a guest room. However, the £320,000 pub did not sell.

Eventually the strain proved too much and the relationship soured further, and recently Mr Beque moved out. "It's a great relief that he has gone," Mrs Beque says. "I found the situation very stressful, especially as we had to keep up a good front for the customers."

"There was nowhere I could retreat to. I just had to disappear into my own room and close the door. But he had to pass my door to get to his. It was impossible to start a new relationship."

Her first step on getting the flat all to herself was to scrub it from top to toe to erase any signs of the past.

For thousands of others still forced to share, that moment still eludes them.

**'There was nowhere to retreat. I just had to disappear into my own room'**



Alone at last: Maureen Beque's husband has now moved out of their pub in Tilmanstone, Kent

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12.30 **Seaside Street**. Early learning series (48138)  
1.30 **Eurosla's Castle**. Young people's entertainment (r) (10190)  
2.00 **Film: Johnny Franchman** (1845, b/w) starring Françoise Rosay  
and Tom Walls. Elected Drama about feuding fishermen from  
Cornwall and Brittany. Directed by Charles Friend (457041)  
3.50 **Tobaldin's Alms**. Tales of Hoffmann. Puppets animate the  
Offenbach aria [2363935]  
4.00 **Family Pride**. Drama serial about a Midlands-based Asian family  
(s) (848)  
5.00 **Fifteen to One**. General knowledge quiz (s) (732)  
5.00 **The Oprah Winfrey Show**. The guests are husbands and fathers  
who agreed to do domestic chores for a week (s) (6747409)  
5.50 **The Magic Roundabout** (r) (478003)  
6.00 **Treasure Hunt**. Anna's Rice chases around the Devon  
countryside looking for hidden treasure (r). (Teletext) (36138)  
7.00 **Channel 4 News** with Jan Snow and Zainab Badawi. (Teletext)  
Weather (522138)  
7.50 **Party Political Comment** by a Conservative politician (476883)  
8.00 **Broadside**. Soap set in suburban Merseyside (Teletext) (s) (1863)  
8.30 **Antoin Mosimmani** — Naturally. The master chef returns to his  
native Switzerland to see how the best cooking chocolate is made  
(r). (Teletext) (44480)  
9.00 **Dispatches**. How increased co-operation between Europe's  
police forces threatens the freedoms of ordinary people (767225)



**Captivated:** Tom McCamus is in for a surprise. (9.45pm)

**9.45 Short and Curlies: Heart Songs.**  
● CHOICE: Short in Ontario by the British director Sue Clayton. Heart Songs follows a lone motorist across a bleak landscape to a dance hall where he is captivated by the jaunty rhythms of Gaynor's music. He is also captivated by the lead singer and follows her home. But in the grey light of dawn, he is in for a surprise. The film lasts only 11 minutes but shows how much can be conveyed in a short space. Clayton knows how to make every shot relevant. Music, a spare but incisive score and Doug Koch's atmospheric photography all contribute. Apart from this television showing, Heart Songs has managed what few shorts achieve, bookings in the cinema. Because the film has the feel of a melodrama, Clayton has been able to move on to feature projects. That is the justification for the Short and Curlies slot 1 (165888).

**10.00 The Golden Girls.** Comedy from the four Miami matrons. (Teletext)

**03.30 (AS1575)**  
**Packing Them In.** Variety entertainment club by Jenny Eclair, Frank Skinner, Kevin Eldon and Roger Mann. This week's guests include Chris Lynde, Alison McGowan and Kevin Sealsy (445493)

**11.15 The Prisoner.** Cult drama series starring Patrick McGeehan as the mysterious Prisoner (1). (Teletext) (169119)

**12.15am The Steve Allen Show (b/w).** American comedy show from the 1950s. The guests are Milton Berle and Tallulah Bankhead (6418982)

**12.40 The Best of the Worst.** Greg Kinnear with more American television horrors (8) (4136570)

**1.10am The Jewel in the Crown.** (1989) starring Sharmila Tagore. Hindu love drama about a woman who secretly marries an air force pilot who is killed when she is four months pregnant. Directed by Shakti Samanta. English subtitles (82378233). Ends at 4.10

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## Wood optimistic threats to tour can be overcome



Serfontein: fears

BY DAVID HANDS  
RUGBY CORRESPONDENT

DUDLEY Wood, the secretary of the Rugby Football Union (RFU), was last night optimistic that the first South African rugby tour to England for 23 years would go ahead. The tour has been put in jeopardy by the decision of the South African National Olympic Sports Congress (Nosc), supported by the African National Congress (ANC), to withdraw support for rugby tours to and from South Africa.

After a day of discussions, Wood said: "I think there is movement in the right direction on the part of the ANC. I am hoping for a further statement tomorrow. I am pleased to say there is a degree of goodwill, certainly towards us, on the part of all parties."

"But we are pawns in this game. We are going to be stuck with one situation or another, and we will have to live with whatever happens."

Wood said there had been discussions with the police concerning security at all four grounds — Leicester, Bristol, Leeds and Twickenham — to be used during the English section of the tour. He admitted security at Twickenham, where South Africa play England on November 14, had been tightened.

The tour had appeared under increasing threat when two city councils declared that they were considering cancelling matches against the Springboks. Leeds council, which administers Elland Road, where the North play the tourists on November 10, announced yesterday that it had written to Danie Craven, the South African Rugby Football Union (Sarf) president, asking for a commitment to desegregate rugby and to meet Nosc to "ensure all previous agreements on desegregating rugby are implemented".

The council said it had been told by the ANC that a positive response from Craven would "go a long way to ensuring that the tour of England would enjoy the ANC's unqualified support". Leicester council said it was examining the terms of its lease of the Welford Road ground, where the Midlands provide the first opposition next Wednesday, and suggested that the Leicester club called off the match.

Local groups of the Anti-apartheid Movement in Bristol, Leeds, Leicester and London have voted to organise protests "if required".

Milek George, the Nosc president, reiterated his stance on withdrawing support for rugby tours, accusing Sarfu officials of failing to develop the sport among black people. Nosc had said also that it would no longer back the 1995 Rugby World Cup, due to be staged in South Africa.

"They have made promises in the past and they have failed to honour all those promises," George said yesterday. "Once the problems are solved, we can talk sense. The South African RFU has failed to implement the development programme that it promised at the beginning of the year... rugby is dying in all black areas."

George said Nosc would not give back its support to the tour if Sarfu agreed to meet its demands. "We did that in the past. We are not going to be convinced by any promises now," he said. However, he believed the World Cup could still go ahead. "It is up to Sarfu. If it solves its problems and gets its act together, the World Cup could be saved."

Uefa acts on manager's verbal outburst

## Souness banned from touchline for five matches

BY IAN ROSS

GRAHAM Souness's troubled season took another turn for the worse yesterday when the Liverpool manager felt the full force of the crackdown by Uefa. European football's governing body, on coaches and managers who verbally abuse match officials.

He has been banished from the touchline for his club's next five European matches after his angry outburst at the Swedish referee, Ron Larsson, at the conclusion of the European Cup Winners' Cup tie against Spartak Moscow in Moscow last Thursday. He is also banned from the team's dressing-room before or during the fixtures.

Although the penalty has immediate effect, Souness may yet be able to take charge of team affairs next Wednesday night, when Spartak play the return leg of the second-round tie at Anfield. If he decides to appeal, he has been given until midnight on Friday to do so.

Souness was charged with misconduct "grossly insulting the referee" at the end of a match of much incident and controversy in Moscow's National Stadium last week.

Souness reacted angrily when Bruce Grobbelaar, Liverpool's goalkeeper, was sent off for a professional foul six minutes before the end. By the final whistle, his mood had darkened considerably after Spartak added a late goal to the penalty to win 4-2. Grobbelaar was automatically banned for one match.

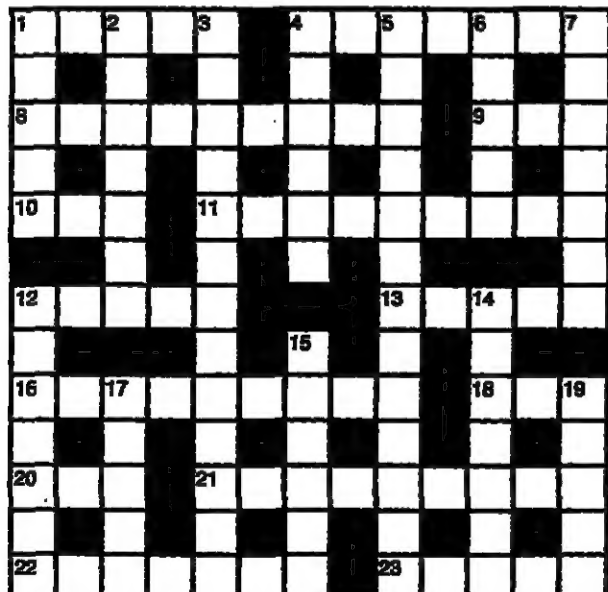
Souness was also seen exchanging words, in a heated fashion, with the fourth official, Lennart Elfstrom, himself a FIFA referee.

Uefa decided that the problem of verbal abuse had become so acute in recent months that immediate action was necessary, hence the convening, in emergency session, of the body's disciplinary committee in Bern yesterday.

Souness has clearly been made an example of in the hope that others will resist the temptation to berate officials in heated moments. "Souness's words were very bad and insulting so we had no option but to take strong measures," Gordon Savage, a Uefa spokesman, said.

Although Souness had initially denied exchanging anything other than stern looks with Larsson, he conceded yesterday that he had indeed spoken to the referee.

## CONCISE CROSSWORD NO 2930



## ACROSS

- 1 Skewered dish (5)
- 4 Apply for (7)
- 8 Irritation (9)
- 9 Worthless goods (3)
- 10 Entire group (3)
- 11 Work out (9)
- 12 Low basin (5)
- 13 Desert garden (5)
- 16 Decayed (4-5)
- 18 Male sheep (3)
- 20 Cassis drink (3)
- 21 Water/land creature (9)
- 22 Somewhere else (4,3)
- 23 Keen (5)

## DOWN

- 1 Australian "bear" (5)
- 2 Dodged (7)
- 3 Socially unacceptable (6,3,4)
- 4 Default (6)
- 5 Survey form (1,3)
- 6 In addition (5)
- 7 Shreds (7)
- 12 Simple rustic type (7)
- 14 Wave boarding (7)
- 15 Basic (6)
- 17 Fortune-telling pack (5)
- 19 Inferior (5)

## SOLUTIONS TO NO 2929

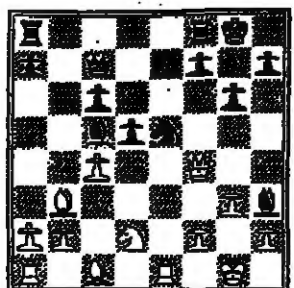
ACROSS: 1 Rip off 5 Resent 8 Stud 9 Recharge 10 Crooks 12 Eish 13 Coldbloodedly 16 Zero 17 Assist 19 Trembled 21 Cage 22 Sinner 23 Robust

DOWN: 2 Interpose 3 Odd 4 Fire sale 5 Rock 6 Shameless 7 Nag 11 Odd job man 13 Call signs 14 Colander 18 Alias 20 RAC 21 Cub

## WINNING MOVE

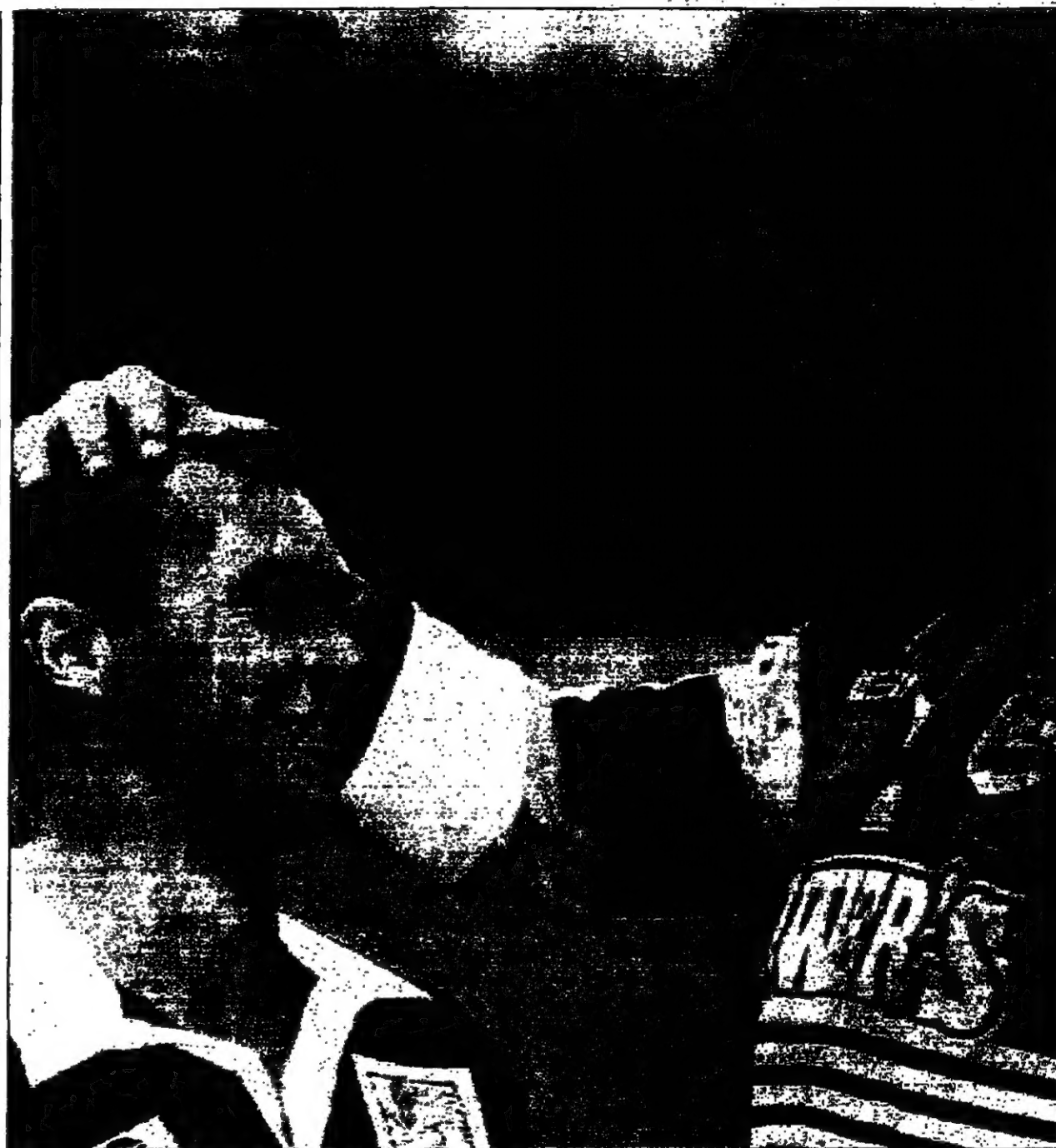
By Raymond Keene, Chess Correspondent

This position is a possible variation from Oradevsky — Bubnov, Correspondence 1926. White's queen-side pieces are in hibernation and his king-side has been seriously compromised — classic ingredients for a winning combination. Black to play. Solution below.



Solution: 1... Bg2 mate

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Big match build-up: Glenn Lazarus, right, the Brisbane forward known as "The Brick", with his captain, Langer, yesterday at Wigan, where the Australians play the English rugby league champions on Friday

## Confident Broncos can give Wigan a rough ride

BY CHRISTOPHER IRVINE

AFTER the rugby league World Cup comes the World Club Challenge, and with it a possible Australian double in less than a week.

The Brisbane Broncos bucked traditional minimalist thinking during the Australian season which ended recently, winning the Winfield Cup competition at a canter. Wigan are wary of a stampede at Central Park on Friday.

Six days after the 10-6 defeat of Great Britain by Australia, seven of Wigan's eight-strong Wembley contingent — Lydon, with an ankle injury, is an almost certain absentee — will be reacquainted with a half-dozen Broncos.

Celebrations notwithstanding, all six Australians pronounced themselves fit yesterday when visiting the home of the English champions.

In the case of Wayne Bennett, the Broncos coach, appearances are deceiving. Lurking behind his poker face is one of the most cultured and visionary coaching brains.

Brisbane entered the Sydney-dominated competition only four years ago, yet they

are already being touted as one of its finest exponents. In last month's Winfield Cup grand final, they slayed Sydney St George 28-8.

In a game in which defensive intensity predominates, Bennett has restored the values of flair and adventure.

With an all-international back line, including the formidable Langer at scrum half, Renouf, the scorer of the decisive try in the World Cup final in the centre, and the pace of Hancock and Carne on the wings, the combination is irresistible.

"We don't ruck it up all day," Langer, the Brisbane captain, said yesterday. "Wayne loves us to attack, and that can be from anywhere on the park. After our success, maybe more sides back home will look to get away from the grinding stuff."

That's not to say that Brisbane are not tough. Saturday's gruelling match at Wembley left its mark. Langer coming away from that game with a chest injury severely aggravated, casting a degree of doubt over whether or not he would

be able to play on Friday. "Allan's chest is bruised and sore," Bennett said, "but he's keen to play and has trained all right, so there shouldn't be a problem."

Unusually for a match between the English and Australian champion sides, Wigan are the ones more likely to opt for a policy of safety first and a gradual build-up.

Bennett will prefer what his side does best: "shovelling it out quickly and running hard and fast."

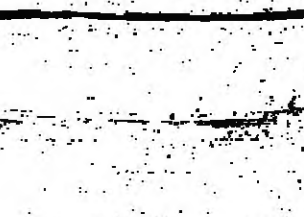
The sides are expected to name their lineups today. Wigan, at present third in the English third division, have fitness problems with Hampson, the full back who has a groin strain, and Phil Clarke.

Three previous World Club Challenge matches, won by Wigan in 1987 and 1991 and by Widnes in 1989, have been derailed by being staged just days after the conclusion of a draining Australian season.

Brisbane's challenge, coming five weeks after their triumph in Sydney, is by far the toughest.

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